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MEMORABLE

EVENTS IN PARIS,

IN 1814.

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A NARRATIVE

OF

MEMORABLE EVENTS IN PARIS,

PRECEDING THE CAPITULATION, AND DURING THE OCCUPANCY OF THAT CITY BY THE ALLIED ARMIES,

IN THE YEAR 1814;

BEING EXTRACTS FROM

THE JOURNAL OF A DÉTENU,

WHO CONTINUED A PRISONER, ON PAROLE, IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL, FROM THE YEAR 1803 TO 1814.

ALSO,

ANECDOTES

OF BUONAPARTE'S JOURNEY TO ELBA.

"THE DEATH OF EVERY MAN DEPRIVES THE WORLD OF SOME INFORMATION WHICH COULD NO WHERE ELSE BE PROCURED." — *Windham.*

LONDON:

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD FRANCIS LEVESON GOWER,

&c. &c. &c.

AS A MEMORIAL OF RESPECT

FOR

THE ZEAL AND TALENTS MANIFESTED IN PARLIAMENT,

AND IN ADMIRATION OF THE ABILITIES

EVINCED IN

HIS LORDSHIP'S LITERARY PRODUCTIONS;

THIS VOLUME

IS INSCRIBED BY

THE EDITOR.

April 5, 1828.

ADDRESS,

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE Editor of the present Volume had the *manuscript* presented to him by an old and confidential friend, who has been a resident at Paris ever since the year 1803, and whose principal injunction was, that it should be *faithfully and correctly* conveyed to the world through the medium of the *English* press.—The laudable and insatiable avidity with which that friend sought information on every subject of art, science, literature, and the political state of nations, led him to visit France, &c. during the short peace of 1802-3. He was returning to England, and had reached Calais, when the peevish arrêté of Buonaparte (22d May 1803) was forwarded to that port, commanding the arrest of all Englishmen. Instead, therefore, of revisiting his native home, and imparting to his friends the result of his inquiries, ob-

servations, and researches, he was detained as a prisoner; but, as a particular favour, from intimacy with some of the *savans* of Paris, he was allowed to return to that city, in place of being sent to Valenciennes, where many other English *détenus* were consigned. The fortunes of war and conquest at length released him from military confinement, as stated in page 96 of this narrative. During the whole of this captivity he was fortunate enough to enjoy a friendly and familiar intercourse with many eminent persons of the French capital. He was also honoured in having frequent interviews with the empress Josephine, in her domestic and private station. This was a favour which few others possessed, and, of course, afforded a familiar insight into many circumstances which were never proclaimed to the world. To one who has been in the habit of keeping a regular daily journal, from infancy, of all events, interesting traits of character, and circumstances connected with art, science, and literature, — such an opportunity, and such eventful occurrences, were calculated to awaken more than common curiosity and interest, and he availed himself of it by preserving a faithful record of all the memorable transactions

which occurred in the French metropolis for upwards of twelve years. The scenes delineated in the following Journal, so kept — the characteristic anecdotes which it imparts of national manners — of personal incidents — of the savage and murderous scenes of warfare — of the distracted state of alarm in some, and of indifference in others — of the successive events of infuriated conflict and slaughter, contrasted by pompous triumphant processions, and rapid transition to gaiety and pastimes — of the expulsion of a warrior, emperor, and despot, from his throne, and the exaltation of an exiled, artful king to the sovereignty of a nation, — cannot fail of creating the alternate emotions of curiosity, sympathy, and interest. Had the Journalist originally calculated on giving publicity to his narrative, he would have sought for, and obtained further details; he would have worked up his pictures to a higher degree of finish, — to more vivid effects of light and shade, — to more skilful grouping, — and to more powerful and palpable expression. But his chief object was to preserve slight, though faithful sketches of passing events; and these

would have remained undisturbed in his own portfolio but for the advice of a few friends, and from a knowledge that much misrepresentation had gone abroad respecting many public persons and subjects, which are legitimate objects of history, and of which his Journal preserved authentic records.

To *the professional Critic* the Editor has to say a few words; because he is desirous of protecting his friend against misunderstanding or erroneous inferences. The ensuing Journal is printed verbatim from the Author's copy, he being scrupulous as to names, dates, phrases, and facts: and it will not escape the keen eye of the experienced critic, that the writer has neither aimed at elegance nor eloquence of diction; but, on the contrary, betrays occasional carelessness of style. Accustomed as he has been, for many years, to French society, French literature, and to express his ideas in that language, it is not surprising that he should forget or confound a little of his own.

Parts of the following Journal have already appeared in the *London Magazine* for 1825; but these are much enlarged, have been corrected in many passages, and very considerable additions are

now made. Had the Author deemed it expedient to review the statements of other writers on the same time and events, he would have been led into lengthened disquisition and comment, and must have impeached the accuracy of representations in many of his own countrymen, as well as of the French, Russians, and Austrians, all of whom have published their respective accounts and opinions of one of the most eventful years of modern times.

The Journalist invariably distinguishes between what he *heard* and what he *saw;* and in noting information on the authority of others, he has exercised the greatest caution, collecting and sifting it with the most scrupulous care. The French, in their love of display and indifference to accuracy, and in their inordinate vanity, are witnesses not always to be relied on, without the utmost caution and strictest examination.

On many of the facts here detailed, the Paris papers preserved a studied silence, while other transactions were related in precise contradiction to the truth. Several of the notes were furnished by persons of high diplomatic authority, who were actors in the great scenes described, and the me-

moranda were committed to paper at the *time* of communication.

As this Journal was kept solely for the amusement of the Author, and to aid his recollection of facts, without any view to publication; there was, consequently, no *motive* for mistatement or for misrepresentation.

Such parts of the narrative as were printed in the *London Magazine* were translated into French, and appeared at Paris, during seven successive months, in the *Revue Britannique* for 1826, without a single contradiction of any of the numerous anecdotes it contained. Other journals, belonging to both parties, also cited it, and pronounced it to be a valuable addition to the history of a period in which no one was allowed to publish such accounts in Paris; and few, indeed, in that city, ventured even to commit to paper the occurrences they witnessed.

The following paragraph appeared in the *Etoile*, Mars 2, 1826:—

"Les éditeurs de la *Revue Britannique* viennent de publier le septième numéro. On y remarque le journal d'un Anglais, prisonnier de guerre à Paris pendant les quatre premiers mois de 1814.

Ce journal est rempli de particularités curieuses sur les événemens à jamais mémorables de cette époque, qui a précédé et amené la restoration."

In the *Courier Français*, 2 Juillet, 1826, was the following notice:—

"Le cahier onzième de la *Revue Britannique* vient de paraître, et n'est pas moins intéressant que les précédens; peut-être même il fournit encore plus d'alimens à la curiosité. L'article, 'Journal d'un Anglais, prisonnier de guerre à Paris pendant les quatre premiers mois de 1814,' renferme une foule de documens et d'anecdotes piquantes sur cette époque, la plus remarquable du siècle. Si le récit en acquiert beaucoup d'intérêt pour les lecteurs de la Grande Bretagne, il doit en avoir bien d'avantage en France, puisqu'il nous présente, dans leur vrai jour, les hommes de notre pays qui ont eu le plus d'influence sur ce grand événement."

In closing this Address, and reflecting on the contents of the volume to which it is prefixed, I cannot help regretting that the writer has not allowed me to place his name in the title-page. His reasons are to this effect:—"I am not an author, nor do I aspire to this honour. In

printing the present narrative, I have been more seduced by the entreaty of friends than by any prospect of fame or profit: the latter I entirely forego, and the former I have no right to expect. Perhaps I might have secured a fair portion of both, with several of my literary friends, had my predilections led me to this department of study, — but circumstances have impelled me rather to be a spectator than an actor in the ever-varied drama of life. The fine arts and the sciences have claimed much of my time and attention, and have afforded me rewards by the endless pleasures that ever accompany them."

As the ensuing Journal details many anecdotes and facts respecting public characters, — not always creditable to the respective parties, — the writer considers himself responsible for the veracity of every statement, and will be ready to substantiate the same through the medium of the Editor, or in any respectable literary journal.

J. BRITTON,

April 5, 1828. *Burton Street, London.*

ANALYTICAL

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MEMORABLE EVENTS.

MOVEMENTS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES,

AND STATE OF PARIS:

JANUARY 1814.

TOWARDS the end of January 1814, the dreams of power, security, and reliance on the omnipotence of their arms, which the French had so long indulged, vanished before their increasing dangers. Apprehensions that the invading army would arrive at Paris were manifested by several of the inhabitants packing up their most valuable effects, and sending them into those parts of France where it was least probable the enemy would penetrate; while, at the same time, many of the inhabitants of villages, farms, and country-houses in the environs, brought their furniture into the metropolis, for greater security. Waggons and carts, thus laden, were daily seen on the Boulevards, and on all the roads approaching the capital. Even the duke of Rovigo, minister of police, sent his daughters, and the most valuable part of the furniture of his hotel in the Rue Cerutti, to the

neighbourhood of Toulouse. The Parisians of every class laid in, to the full extent of their circumstances, stores of flour, rice, vetches, white beans, potatoes, salt pork, red herrings, &c.—(Salt beef and biscuit are unknown at Paris.)—The bakers also received orders from the police to lay in a stock of flour. One day, at the commencement of February, the demand for potatoes was so great at the Marché des Innocentes, that a measure (the decalitre) rose from the usual price of six sols, to forty: but this produced a considerable supply the next day, when they fell to the usual price.

Notwithstanding the exertions of government to "*nationalise the war*," the greatest indifference was evidently felt by the middle and lower classes, now that their vanity was no longer gratified by conquest for themselves and insult to others. Every artifice was resorted to by the police to arouse the slaves of its power from this apathy: one of these was the attempting to recall to the minds of the people (what they had been for fourteen years labouring to destroy) the energy they had manifested during the republic. Towards effecting this object, verses in praise of the emperor, adapted to the long-proscribed Marseillois hymn, were performed on barrel-organs, or sung in every street: but the revolutionary slang was ill adapted to the praise of imperial power, and produced a truly ludicrous effect. During the twelve years

of my residence in France, I never had listened to this piece of music, and only once (in 1803) heard " Ca ira," in passing an obscure wine-shop near the Place de Grève. But all would not do: the whole class of young men had grown up imbued with the egotism of slaves, the true test of a despotic government. Napoleon, on his return to Paris at the end of 1813, found the greatest penury and confusion in every department of the state. France was without arms or ammunition wherewith to refit the wreck of the army, which returned exhausted by fatigue, want, and disease. All was shut up in Dantzic, Hamburgh, Magdeburgh, and other German fortresses occupied by the French powers. Gunpowder was ordered to be made with the utmost despatch. A rapid but dangerous method of pulverising the ingredients by means of loose cannon-balls in a large cylinder having a rotatory motion, being proposed by a young coxcomb named Champie, was instantly approved by the emperor, contrary to the advice of the officers who superintended the administration of powder and saltpetre: the consequence was, that almost as soon as this scheme was put in practice, the powder-mill at Essounes, containing eight thousand pounds of powder, blew up.

Though by the decrees of the 9th of October and the 17th of November, 1813, five hundred and forty thousand fresh troops were ordered to join the

army, yet Napoleon never could bring more than fifty thousand men into the field during the whole of this campaign. Artillery was the chief means he employed; and considering the want of artillerymen, it is wonderful to think the advantage the emperor obtained by them, in covering the weakness of his infantry. The latter were composed of conscripts, torn from their homes before they had arrived at the age of manhood.

When the arrival of the allies at Paris was deemed probable, the surrounding heights were visited by engineers, with a view to having them fortified. From their report, the council of defence drew up a plan, by which it was proposed to throw up earthworks on the hills, communicating by trenches with the gates of the city. This project the emperor rejected, and, according to a plan of his own, ordered strong palisades to be erected in front of the barriers, and the city wall adjoining, to be pierced with loop-holes. This insignificant method of defence evinced his opinion that the enemy would only attempt a rush by a few light troops. The carrying this plan into effect was taken by Napoleon from the department of the minister of war, and given to the minister of the interior to be executed by the corps of engineers of the *ponts et chaussées*. Notwithstanding those precautions, few persons would openly acknowledge that the enemy would dare to attack the capital: it might be so sur-

rounded as to have all supplies of provisions cut off. A paper was stuck at the base of the column in the Place Vendôme, on which was written, " Passez vite, il va tomber."

At the beginning of January, an officer, in conversation with Talleyrand, said that he could not comprehend what was going on, alluding to the confusion which then reigned in every branch of the government, when Talleyrand replied, " C'est le commencement du fin."*

A short time before the emperor's departure for the army, Savery, duke of Rovigo, comte Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely, and Talleyrand, were with him in his closet. Napoleon addressing the latter, said, " I think for my own security I ought to send you to Vincennes; your conduct

* Abbé de Pradt, in his Récit Historique sur la Restauration de la Royauté en France, le 31 Mars 1814, (Paris 1816) writes: " Every where was seen a decided spirit to rid themselves of the present domination. All coincided in *this* desire: an atmosphere of conspiracy hovered over the whole city; and, as is the case in all popular conspiracies, what was every body's secret was consequently the best kept: no traitors; and though so many babblers, no informers. For many years no one had dared to sport with the power of Napoleon: every one considered himself most happy when he supposed himself unnoticed or forgotten: now, though he was as much, and even more feared than ever, yet every one gave vent to the most hazardous discussions and perilous forebodings. All said, ' This will not continue; the cord is too much stretched; it will soon be over.' This was the text and finale of every conversation in Paris."—(p. 32.)

is very equivocal, and you are either related to, or in habits of intimacy or correspondence with, my greatest and most dangerous enemies:" (meaning the Bourbons and those who had followed them). Talleyrand replied, that by remaining in his service he gave the strongest proof of devotion to his person. Rovigo and Regnaud both vindicated Talleyrand; and though they succeeded in calming the emperor's anger, most probably failed in lulling his suspicions.

January 3d. — Price of stocks, — 5 per cents, 50 francs 50 centimes — 51 francs. Bank actions, 690 francs.

6th. — The passage of the Rhine was announced in the *Journal de l'Empire,* in a despatch from the prefect of the Roer, dated Aix-la-Chapelle, 2 o'clock, A.M., saying that the allies had passed the Rhine on the 1st, but had been beaten, and lost three hundred men: on the 3d they passed at Mulheim in eleven little boats, but were driven back by the garrison of Cologne, leaving sixty prisoners; only a few were soldiers, the rest consisted of landwehrd and children. The same day, at 11 o'clock, they crossed between Weiss and Rodenkircher, but were repulsed.

M. de la Doucette, who at this time was prefect of the department of the Roer, afterwards told me, that so little did he apprehend the allies would venture to pass the Rhine, that

when, on the evening of the 1st of January, one of his police spies informed him that an officer, just arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle from Neuss, had asserted the fact in a public coffee-house, he instantly sent for the gentleman and expressed to him the anger and astonishment he felt at his having dared to assert so improbable a circumstance; adding, that it was only from respect to his colonel that he did not send him to prison. The officer, however, persisted in the truth of his intelligence, having been an eye-witness of the event, which was confirmed a few minutes afterwards by the arrival of a gens-d'armes with a despatch addressed to the military commander-in-chief at Aix-la-Chapelle, who being absent and at some distance, La Doucette convened the council of the prefecture and the captain of the gendarmerie, whom he considered next in military rank to the commandant, by whom the despatch was opened; and its contents, on being read, struck the assembly with consternation, as it contained the details of the affair. La Doucette copied the despatch and sent off the original by express to Paris: he forwarded a copy, with an apology for having opened it, to the commandant.

9th. — The imperial decree, dated the 8th, for calling out the national guard, was inserted in the *Moniteur*, of this day.

11th. — *Journal de l'Empire* published a letter from Cologne, dated the 5th, mentioning an

attempt of the allies to pass the Rhine, but affirming that they were driven back, except about twenty prisoners, who were such miserable objects as to excite the laughter of all who saw them.

14th. — The same newspaper inserted a letter from Langres, admitting that from Mulhausen to Schelstadt there were sixty thousand troops of the allies.

18th. — The law which fixed the rate of interest in civil cases at 5 per cent, and at 6, in commercial concerns, was suspended until January 1, 1815; and in the interim, every person was at liberty to obtain what interest he could.

It was stated in the *Journal de l'Empire*, 21st, that the allies had left several important fortified places in their rear.

22d.— Official news of the army first appeared in the *Moniteur*, in which it was said that the Silesian army had crossed the Rhine on the 1st of January, in four divisions, amounting to fifty thousand men; also that prince Schwartzenberg had entered Switzerland on the 20th of December. The positions of the allied army are stated, and their number estimated at one hundred thousand men, exclusive of those in Brabant.

23d. *Sunday.* — The officers of the national guard received orders to attend at the palace of the Tuilleries, in the Salon des Maréchaux. Nearly nine hundred assembled, in new uniforms, and formed on each side of the apartment, but

were wholly ignorant of the cause. The emperor passed through, according to custom, as he went to mass in the chapel, and was saluted with the cry of " Vive l'empereur!" On returning, he walked round the room, and then placed himself in the middle. At this moment the empress entered, accompanied by the countess de Montesquiou. This lady, and not the empress, as was said in some of the newspapers, carried the king of Rome in her arms. The family walked round, and advancing into the middle of the apartment, the emperor, in a firm tone of voice, said, — that a part of the territory of France was invaded — that he was going to put himself at the head of his troops, and hoped, with God's help and the valour of those troops, to drive the enemy beyond the frontiers. Then, taking the empress in one hand and the king of Rome in the other, he continued, " but if they should approach the capital, I confide to the courage of the national guard the empress and the king of Rome;" then correcting himself, he said, with a voice of emotion, " *my wife and child.*"

This produced the wished-for effect: several of the officers stepped from their places and approached nearer to him; a considerable number were in tears, and among that number were many who were far from being admirers or willing supporters of the imperial government, but who were impressed by the scene. The

next day the whole was considered as a theatrical display, got up by Buonaparte.

24th. — I saw the emperor, about ten o'clock in the morning, standing in the snow, in the court-yard of the Tuilleries, reviewing some troops. This evening count Real had a private audience with the emperor, who said, " he quitted Paris in perfect security, the empress Marie-Louise being affectionate and mild as a virgin; but were she a Marie Antoinette, he would not have left her there at this crisis." Real said, " Yet, if in the course of the campaign, a corps of twenty-five or thirty thousand men should succeed in eluding the French army, and make a dash upon Paris, how am I to act?" Napoleon answered, " the inhabitants would rise and defend the capital." Real replied, he was sure that the Parisians, so far from meeting the enemy " les armes aux bras," would receive them " les armes aux pieds." This frank assertion, from a man of Real's character, and who, from his situation in the police, was so capable of knowing the public opinion, very much displeased the emperor, who said that he did not expect such an answer from him.

25th. — At three o'clock in the morning Napoleon quitted Paris, to join the army. General Bertrand was in the carriage with him. At eleven o'clock at night he arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne.

27th. — The emperor was present at a slight skirmish at St. Dizier.

30th. — *Battle of Brienne*, by which, from the official account published, the public hope was a little raised.

On the 10th of January an order from the minister of war arrived at *Verdun* to remove the English prisoners, eleven hundred in number, of all ranks, exclusive of children, to Blois, and to clear Verdun by the 13th. Seventeen days after they had arrived at Blois, they were not deemed sufficiently distant from the allied army, and were ordered to Gueret, the principal town of the department of La Creuse, which contained three thousand three hundred inhabitants. The first detachment left Blois on the 17th, and the last on the 19th of February.

The intended removal of the English *détenus* who resided in Paris was rumoured among them, from hints at the war-office, about the 20th of January; and on the 28th and following days, circular letters were sent to them to attend at the prefecture of police. On presenting themselves there, their permission to remain at Paris was taken from them, and a passport delivered for Blois or Tours; and this was nine days after those who had arrived there from Verdun had been sent to Gueret. The clerks were far more civil than they had been on similar occasions, but said there were to be no exceptions. The day of departure was not, as was usual in such cases,

specified; they were only told to quit the capital *as soon as possible.* Many, however, subsequently obtained permission of the minister of police to remain. At the particular request of the empress Josephine, I was among the number; and others delayed their departure until the enemy occupied the country about Orleans, which rendered their departure impossible.

M. Paulze, auditor of the council of state, who was on a mission in the western departments of France, received directions in January to superintend the arrangements of the castles at Saumur and Angers, on the banks of the Loire, for the reception of the state prisoners then confined in the keep (*donjon*) of the castle of Vincennes, near the capital, and in the prison of Laforce, at Paris. There were at this time twenty-seven state prisoners in the dungeons of Vincennes: among them were M. de Boessular, for being an agent of Louis XVIII.; the bishops of Ghent and Tournay; Abbé d'Astros, premier vicaire-général of Paris; Abbé Perrault; and Messrs. Latumierre and Charette, for shooting at M. de Segur, in a revolt of the gardes d'honneur at Tours. The celebrated Spanish general, Palafox, had undergone five years of the most rigorous confinement in this castle. His prison name was Mendola; and he was told that if he divulged his real name even to the turnkeys, he would instantly be put to death. The Spanish generals, Zajas, Lardezabel, Della Rocca, Blake,

Charles O'Donnel, Abrad, a Spanish officer, and Mina, the nephew of the celebrated Espoz-y-Mina, cardinals Dipietre, Gabrielle, Oppozone, baron Kolli, employed by England to try to effect the escape of Ferdinand VII. from the chateau of Valency, and baron d'Aurvech Steinfels, of Baden, had been seven years inmates of the same prison.

The state prisoners were removed from Paris the first week in February, in twelve carriages, guarded by as many gens-d'armes. They were seen by the English prisoners, then at Blois, as they stopped to dine in that city.

EVENTS OF FEBRUARY 1814.

THE *newspapers*, in every stage of the revolution, were the base organs of calumny and persecutors of every unfortunate person proscribed by the state. It was very common to see them pouring forth the most vindictive slander against persons in one day's paper, whom they had indiscriminatingly praised the preceding. Flatterers and sycophants to every new minister and new order of things, they by turns became panders to tyranny and eulogists of faction and terror.

At the beginning of this month, those basest of all the functionaries of despotism,—the ordinary *censors of the newspapers*, not being deemed by government sufficiently conversant with its intentions to be intrusted with the revisal of the articles on politics and the army intended for insertion,—a special commission of five persons, Etienne, Pelline, Jay, Desrenauds, and Tissot, was formed, with a monthly salary of a thousand francs each, and charged with the fabrication of articles calculated to excite the passions and deceive the understandings of the people. The mask of patriotism has been one of the most distinctive characteristics of the French Revolution, to beguile and cajole the populace.

M. Desmarest, secretary of the *haute police*, in consequence of orders from the duke of Rovigo, began this month to destroy the *secret papers* of this important department of the French cabinet, consisting of private examinations of the victims of its suspicion, reports made by the higher order of spies, and information given by those of the fashionable circles who volunteered this honourable office! Most of these latter now crowded the closet of the secretary in the greatest tribulation, lest, in the event of the expected change in the government, or the arrival of the allies, the documents furnished by them should fall into other hands. It was with the greatest difficulty they could be tranquillised by the assurance that

every vestige of their baseness had been consigned to the flames.

M. de Talleyrand was accustomed to entertain evening whist parties: these he now relinquished, lest he should incur the suspicion of their being made subservient to political purposes.

General Hullin, the commandant-en-chef of the first military division of France (in which Paris is situated) and of Paris, who, from the first advance of the allies in France, had been much dejected, apprehending that all was over with the existing government, and aware of the general detestation in which it was held by the citizens of Paris, was fearful of trusting the national guards with arms. To prevent this, he industriously collected and secreted all the muskets which he was able to discover, and muskets were at this time with great difficulty procured even for the regular army,—such had been the losses and destruction in the last campaign. Marshal Moncey, duke of Conegliano, major-general of the national guard, sent for general Hullin, and ordered him to deliver up these arms. At first he denied having any, and, ultimately, evaded the surrender. Even to the last the national guards were, with few exceptions, only provided with fowling-pieces.

The duke of Rovigo, in obedience to Napoleon's orders, wrote every night a long familiar letter to him, containing all the information he

received in the course of the day relative to public feeling, and all the Parisian gossip he could pick up by means of his spies. It was the rough draught which he was required to send, that from the faults and erasures which occurred in hasty composition, Napoleon might better be enabled to judge what were the minister's impressions at the moment. At this time it appeared to be the general opinion that Buonaparte must be got rid of, and the imperial government overthrown, — that every class of society was tired of the war, the conscription, &c., — that peace must be obtained, no matter by what means, or to what extent the sacrifice. Desmarest, one evening, said to the duke, "What can you say to the emperor; for who would venture to inform him of the truth?" "Look there," replied Rovigo, handing him the letter which he had just finished. Desmarest, to his astonishment, read: "I can give you no hope: you are lost; and if a cannon-ball does not carry you off, I cannot answer what will be your end; such is the feeling of disgust and hatred for the government, and such the wish for your destruction by every rank and class, that there can be no safety for you, or chance of preserving the government."

The duke of Rovigo, who was far from possessing the necessary talents or powers of mind for his official situation, which he obtained and kept by the most absolute devotion to the caprices

of his despotic master, was at this time daily surrounded by the wily Talleyrand and his party, l'abbé de Pradt, the baron de Marguerite, and, above all, Bourienne. One of these crafty emissaries was constantly with him, lulling or diverting his just suspicions, and duping him, whilst he vainly imagined they were sincerely serving him from personal admiration. Of their manœuvres the minister was repeatedly warned by the sagacious secretary, Desmarest. Napoleon's power was laughed at even in the presence of Rovigo himself, and this at the latter end of 1813. In one of the letters he wrote to the emperor, Rovigo expressed a wish to remain at Paris, in the event of the allies arriving, as he was personally acquainted with the emperor of Russia; but Napoleon refused, saying, if he did, "the hypocrite Alexander would send him to Siberia."

Towards the latter end of February, maréchal Lefèvre, duc de Dantzic, being at the imperial head-quarters, a friend of his, a general of brigade, declared to him, that a party of superior officers were so thoroughly weary of the long continuance of the war, and so convinced that Napoleon would not make peace, that they had resolved to assassinate him. The old maréchal, in a violent passion, told the general, that unless he returned in twenty-four hours, and swore that he and his band had relinquished their daring plot, he

would denounce them to the emperor. The officer came at the appointed time, and affirmed, that neither he nor his party would relinquish their purpose; and so far from dreading the threat of denunciation, they rather wished he would inform Napoleon. The maréchal instantly waited on the emperor, and communicated what had passed. "They are mad," was the only reply which the lately all-powerful Napoleon dared to make. This remarkable anecdote (so completely conformable to the French melo-dramatic character) I heard from more than one person to whom Lefèvre had mentioned it.

The *manifested* public opinion underwent a total change after the *battle of Brienne* on the 4th of February, and that at *La Rothière* on the 1st of February. Napoleon, in his bulletin, pretended to treat the latter as an affair of his rear-guard, saying there were but few prisoners taken on either side; but the French lost sixty-seven pieces of cannon, and seven thousand men, three thousand of whom were taken prisoners. In this hard-fought battle, which took place in a marshy plain during a snow-storm, the only skilful manœuvre was by Blucher effecting his junction with the grand army. It was line to line, man to man, the weaker falling beneath the bayonets of the stronger: but the idea of Napoleon's invincibility then received its death-blow, for he had been completely beaten, and on his own ground.

The approach of the allied army towards Paris was then known, and it was even expected to reach the capital in the course of the next ten days. To have doubted this, or the inability to resist them, would have made a person suspected of being in the pay of the police; and every one seemed ready to humble himself before the approaching enemy. A greater number of persons than usual visited the Museum of the Louvre, to take a farewell look at the pictures, not doubting that the allies would imitate the example of the French, and carry them all away. A considerable number of the more wealthy inhabitants of Paris employed carpenters, joiners, and masons, in making hiding-places for their plate, money, and portable articles. But no sooner did the news arrive of the *battle of Champ-aubert,* which was fought on the 10th, and a column of prisoners was exhibited to the versatile and sanguine Parisians, than a paroxysm of confidence was excited; and the universal cry was, that "not one of the insolent invaders would re-cross the Rhine."

M. Dénon, under whose direction the government medals were struck, was anxiously waiting for some event to commemorate; and no sooner had the battle of Champ-aubert afforded a pretext for exultation, than he ordered a medal to be executed to designate the state of France at that moment. On the obverse was the head of Napoleon; on the reverse an eagle, erect, having a most ridiculous Bobadil air; above his head was

a star, his claws on a thunderbolt, and on one side the sign Pisces, on the other a small figure of a flying Victory with a wreath in her hand. The legend FEVRIER. MDCCCXIV. This was the only medallic record of that memorable campaign.

Outworks before the fifty-two barriers, or gates of Paris, began to be erected on the 1st of February. This defence consisted simply of palisades, of about a foot diameter, and nine feet in height, securely driven into the ground, enclosing a space before the gates of the city, forty or fifty feet wide, by about thirty feet, in the direction of the entrance. These enclosures had a strong gate, which, before the principal barriers, had embrasures for cannon on each side of it; the palisades being sufficiently asunder to allow the passage of small-arms. For the construction of these works, only capable of resisting cavalry, many of the finest and largest oaks of the Bois de Boulogne were felled. On the 8th they were finished; and on the 16th, M. Casimer de Mortemart, officier d'ordonnance to the emperor, arrived at Paris from the army, charged by Napoleon to visit each of the barriers, and draw up a descriptive account of the nature and form of the defence erected before it; which having completed in three days, he returned to the imperial headquarters.

I called on count Real, on the 1st of this month, with my friend Lebreton, perpetual secretary to the fourth class of the Institute, and heard a curious conversation between them,

in which the old republican, Real, stern and manly as his character was, did not attempt to conceal his anxiety at the hopeless prospect which the war presented, and at the impossibility of obtaining a supply of muskets for the newly-raised troops. "What silly boasting," said the count, "that the Paris manufactories daily turn out twelve hundred muskets. Why, if they could, that number would not be of any positive value. We, who want five hundred thousand at this moment, have not five thousand; and in ten days the allies may be at the gates of Paris." They discussed the merit of an invention that had been offered, by which it was proposed to make gun-barrels by twisting a strip (*ruban*) of iron round a cylinder, and, after welding the edges together, withdrawing the cylinder; by this device the time employed in boring was intended to be saved. This invention, though much admired at the time, did not meet with final approbation.

The Oriflamme, an opera in one act, produced by order of government to excite popular feeling against the invasion, was brought out at the Great Opera this evening. The house was very much crowded.

Price of stocks this day, 5 per cents, 51 francs; bank actions, 605 francs.

I was at Malmaison on the 3d, and witnessed the removal of the most valuable pictures and Etruscan

vases, with a view to their concealment, in the event of the entrance of the allied forces. Constantine, the keeper of the picture gallery, was present, and directed such alterations to be made in the arrangement of those which remained, as to prevent any suspicion of the removal which had taken place.

The ex-empress, Josephine, remained in the gallery nearly the whole morning, indicating, apparently with her usual calmness, the pieces she wished to be secreted, without venturing to conjecture what would be the fate of those which were suffered to remain.

About the 5th, the pass-port office at the prefecture of police was daily thronged with ladies, who, fearing the arrival of the enemy, hastened to quit Paris with their children, and take refuge in Normandy, Touraine, and in the western parts of France. Thirteen hundred pass-ports were delivered in one day.

Many persons pledged their effects at Mont de Piété, as a security from their being losers should Paris be pillaged. To put a stop to this motive for pledging, from the 15th, however valuable the article offered, only twenty francs were lent upon it. The estimated value was, however, inserted in the duplicate, that, if *accidentally* lost, the real amount might be returned.

Bills were stuck up about Paris on the 10th, containing an invitation from the prefect

of the department of the Seine to the inhabitants of Paris, to furnish the hospitals with six thousand bedsteads, eight thousand straw-mattresses, seven thousand mattresses, six thousand bolsters, eighteen thousand sheets, eight thousand blankets, twenty-four thousand shirts, twelve thousand caps, half a pound of lint and one pound of linen rags with each bed, and money to purchase cooking-vessels. This was solicited for the newly-established military hospitals, accompanied with a threat, that, if not complied with, the sick would be quartered upon the inhabitants. Previously to this notice, most of the females in the higher and middling classes employed their leisure minutes in the tedious process of unravelling rag to make lint for the wounded: — woven lint being unknown in France. This was the evening occupation at almost all the houses I frequented; and I saw at Malmaison the empress Josephine herself and all her ladies thus employed.

The prefect of the department of the Seine gave orders to establish an hospital, *pro tempore*, in the newly-constructed and not yet finished slaughter-houses at the top of the Rue Rochechouart, and that in the Rue Pepinière. The clerk of the works, Clochard, instantly visited the place to make arrangements. Beds were accordingly placed in the ox-stables, slaughter-houses, cart-houses, &c.: glass windows were put in the place of the luffer-boards.

One of the slaughter-houses was converted into a kitchen and a tisanerie (a place for preparing infusions of herbs, &c.) A room in the upper story was set apart for the soldiers' knapsacks, a pharmacy was established, and the offices of the clerks were fitted up for officers' bed-rooms. These works were begun on the 10th, and on the 18th, twelve hundred wounded French soldiers were placed therein.

All the disgusting imagery of war was now displayed within the walls of the capital. In consequence of the military hospitals being found insufficient to receive the immense numbers of sick and wounded which continued to arrive, either from the army, or from the evacuation of the military hospitals on the frontiers, now in possession of the allies, the city patients were driven from the hospitals, and replaced by the soldiers from the army; while those thus driven out were obliged to return to their small and crowded homes in the populous fauxbourgs,—thus spreading contagion and misery in those abodes of wretchedness.

The *Salpetrière* was the asylum for indigent, aged, infirm, and insane females: these miserable objects were driven from the wards they inhabited, and forced into the workshops of that extensive establishment, and the wards were filled with the sick and wounded military. From the middle of February to the end of March, seven thousand six hundred and nine persons were brought into *this*

hospital from the army; the greater number of them labouring under typhus and chronic diarrhœa, resulting from bad, or rather the almost total want of, nourishment. Such was the confusion in the administration of the hospital, that there was no wood for fuel, nor even charcoal for heating the tisanes, which, from the severity of the weather, were frozen. The broken windows remained so: this, though it saved many of those attacked with fever, killed the pulmonary patients. Numbers of raw conscripts died of consumption, before they had been a month on service, and without having received any medical assistance. Contagion raged to such a degree in the Salpetrière, that, out of six physicians and surgeons who attended there, three died; and Dr. Esparon, from whom I received this information, attributed his preservation to taking an additional quantity of strong coffee. All those who sorted the clothes of the dead soldiers died; as did also the man who fumigated the wards with chlorine. The wool of the mattresses was neglected to be washed; this also contributed to propagate the contagion, which was so much dreaded, that the drivers of the cabriolets and fiacres could not be induced to approach the hospital with a fare.

There were, at this time, from eighteen to twenty thousand sick and wounded soldiers, from Napoleon's army, within the walls of Paris.

During the whole of the month of February, the

streets were filled with soldiers and raw conscripts, whose route to join their regiments lay through Paris. Government not having made any provision for their subsistence, they were under the necessity of begging in the streets. People fed, and even lodged them, from mere compassion. On the 7th of February, a court-martial sat at Meaux to decimate those wretched beings (termed *traineurs*), who, sinking from inanition and sorrow at being torn from their families, were unable to join their regiments with the required celerity. I saw the judgments, with the names of those who were shot, stuck up against the walls of the metropolis.

11th.—The national guard began their service at the Hôtel de Ville, and at all the barriers; at five o'clock in the afternoon the cannon announced the victory of Champ-aubert, the bulletin of which was afterwards read at the theatres.

12th.—King Joseph Buonaparte reviewed the grenadiers of the national guard, for the first time since their being called out, in the court yard of the Tuilleries. On this occasion, the little king of Rome was dressed in the uniform of the national guard.

I was this day at the Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique, at the first representation of *Bayard à Meziers* —a piece written by order of the police, to excite public spirit. It was announced for representation ten days sooner; but on account of the ad-

vance of the allies, Gavaudan, the actor, waited on the minister of police, to know if it should appear. The minister replied, " Ce n'est pas le moment." On the 5th, a paragraph was inserted in the *Journal de Paris*, saying that *Bayard à Meziers*, which was intended to have been performed that day, was postponed on account of the indisposition of the three principal performers. On the first successes of the French arms it was brought out, and received with great applause.

13th, Sunday.—A beautiful, calm, mild day. I walked with mademoiselle D. along the skirts of the Plain de Grenelle, and beheld innumerable marks of bullets on that part of the wall near to which the military executions took place of the unfortunate victims of the jealousy and despotism of the imperial government. In a few places a cross had been traced on the wall, and also the name of the unfortunate being who there had ceased to exist. While indulging in this melancholy gratification of curiosity and sympathy, we were aroused by the distant sound of artillery, in a south-east direction, and afterwards learned, that at this time the hostile armies were engaged in the neighbourhood of Nanges, Provens, and Montereau. In the evening I was at the Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique, where, in the middle of a scene, Veyrat, the inspector-general of the police, in full uniform, came abruptly on the stage, accompanied by an actor, to whom he gave the

bulletin to read of the battle of *Montmirail*, that took place on the 11th.

16th. — The arrival of *general Alsufief*, who had been taken on the 10th at Champ-aubert, was announced previously in the newspapers to take place this day. He entered Paris by the fauxbourg St. Martin. At half-past twelve I saw him on the boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, accompanied by prince Pottaroski and colonel Reiden. They were on horseback, in an undress, with travelling caps: one had an order round his neck. Six gens d'armes, with drawn swords, conducted them by so slow a pace, that more than an hour was employed in going from the barrier of Pantin to the état-major in the place Vendôme. The spectators near me gazed on them in silence, and seemed ashamed of this contemptible attempt to humiliate officers of their rank: and some few expressed their fears lest the emperor of Russia should retaliate such an insult. But in the rue Napoleon,* and in the place Vendôme, some miscreants, who were suspected of being hired for the purpose, hooted them, and, pointing to the bronze column, cried "Vive la Colonne!" alluding to the report industriously spread by the government, of its being the intention of the allies to destroy all monuments of art and trophies of victory. While the mob at Paris were exulting at

* Now rue de la Paix.

the sight of these prisoners, another crowd had assembled, with totally different feelings, not four miles from them, round the park of artillery and heavy baggage of the dukes of Bellune and Reggio, which had been driven to Charenton by the enemy, who also, this and the two following days, had occupied the town and palace of Fontainebleau.

17th.—The national guard was under arms at the barrier of Pantin before eight o'clock in the morning, to receive the prisoners taken at Champ-aubert. The Boulevards were thronged by two o'clock. At four, a column of about 5000 Russians and Germans was paraded along the Boulevards, preceded by French drums and gens d'armes on horseback, and guarded on each side by a file of national guards, who were now for the first time seen on duty. The papers had boasted that there would be 15,000. This show, like the indecent display of yesterday, was received by the people in a very different manner from that which the government intended or expected. The multitude assembled to see them pass evinced the greatest pity; and money and whatever eatables could at the instant be procured were freely bestowed, even by the poorest persons. Those who passed on the 18th were still better treated, as the people had time to provide for them. On both days a considerable quantity of bread was thrown from the windows,

Mademoiselle Bourgoin, the celebrated actress of the Théâtre Français, manifested her gratitude for the liberality she had received in Russia, and her pique at an affront her personal charms had received from Napoleon, while she was mistress to Chaptat, his minister of the interior, by attending on the Boulevards with her carriage full of provisions, which she distributed. Mademoiselle Regnault, of the Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique, did the same, as did also her friend Boyeldieu, the musical composer, who had likewise been greatly patronised in Russia.

The officers, whose melancholy dignity excited universal admiration, marched at the head of the column, and almost all the men were clothed in long, loose, coarse, brown great-coats, with the number of the regiment on their shoulders. The Russians wore boots of Russia-leather, the powerful odour of which being new to the Parisians, they believed it emanated from the Russians themselves. Some had cloth caps, none had hats; but most of them were without any covering on their heads. Some few had preserved their knapsacks and camp kettles. Several were wounded, and their skins covered with encrusted and darkened blood. The Russians were of very dark-brown complexions, and their hair was cut quite close to the head. I saw two women among them. The column took twenty-seven minutes passing. They had come that morning from

Claye, Villeparisis, Livry, and the smaller villages of that neighbourhood: a general rendezvous for these divisions was at Pantin, from whence they were marched in one column to Versailles, where they arrived between ten and eleven at night, and were shut up in the Ecuries du Roi, a large building on entering the Place d'Armes, not having had any thing to eat the whole day, nor until the next morning, after which they continued their route. At half-past nine o'clock they passed through St. Cyr, on their way to the western part of France.

It was said that many of these prisoners had been taken long anterior to the battle of Champaubert: it certainly manifested to the government that the people of Paris had no animosity against the allies, notwithstanding the crafty means employed to excite it. Indeed, much of the humanity shewn by the better classes was systematic, and intended to evince their attachment to the cause of the allies.

The newspapers asserted, that 7000 of those who passed through on the 18th were Austrians, taken at Nangis on the 16th, and that they entered Paris by the barrier of Charenton. Some prisoners, indeed, were brought in by that barrier, but no Austrians were among them; and the head of the column which arrived by the barrier of Pantin halted in the Champs Elysées for these to come up. The whole column, in which there

might be 6000, went to Versailles, where they slept. The Parisians classed them all under the term Cossacks, though there was not a single Cossack among them. Some of the Germans, on hearing this epithet from almost every mouth, exclaimed, *Nein, nein.*

During the rest of the month, small detachments of prisoners were almost daily seen passing along the Boulevards; some only guarded by peasants, armed with bludgeons.

20th.—A paragraph in the *Journal de l'Empire* announced that a girls' boarding-school had given two cotton nightcaps to the *mairie* of the third arrondissement: such was the real paucity of patriotic feeling, that the trifling display of it in the gift of two cotton nightcaps was considered to be worthy of record!

Immense packing-cases full of stamped paper continued to arrive for some weeks from Holland and those parts of Germany which had been reconquered, and from the departments of France invaded by the allies. The different receivers-general and distributors of stamps hastily tumbled the contents into packing-cases, without order, or even care. Thus every department of the government was in disorder and confusion.

26th.—An extraordinary sitting of the municipality of Paris was held at the Hôtel de Ville, to receive the municipal councils of the numerous towns which had been occupied by the allied

armies. These councils were ordered to attend at Paris, with detailed accounts of the distresses which the respective towns had experienced from the armies. A long series of official articles subsequently appeared in the *Moniteur*, and were promptly copied into other journals, detailing the miseries and horrors occasioned by the invaders, and the threats they proclaimed against the Parisians.

These accounts of the wanton barbarity and lawless outrages committed by the allied troops were uniformly followed by an appeal to the people, who were exhorted to rally round their emperor, their hero and father—who had so often led them to victory, and rendered France pre-eminent amongst all the nations of the earth. The absurdity of those articles surpassed belief; and instead of inflaming the public mind against the allies, led to the conclusion, that nothing short of an overpowering necessity could have caused their countrymen to become the victims of such flagrant atrocities. True wisdom would dictate submission to that physical force which it was worse than useless to resist, and the abandonment of the cause of that individual who appeared to be the chief personal object of attack.

Where Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, could be? was a question which excited considerable interest among the ancient nobility; and also great curiosity among all ranks of people, whatever

were their political sentiments. It was deemed highly probable that he had crossed the Rhine, had joined the allied army, and was then engaged in combating Napoleon; but, notwithstanding he was the general subject of inquiry, still his real situation was unknown at Paris. On the 12th of February he was at Cologne, whence he published a proclamation to the French people, stating that the sovereigns did not form their alliance to make war upon the nation, but to force the government to acknowledge the independence of other states. He never alluded to the Bourbons. This proclamation did not reach Paris. The hopes of the royalists on the crown prince were founded on M. Alexis de Noailles, who sought refuge in Sweden, being appointed his aide-de-camp. M. de Noailles was nephew of the prince de Poix, and the duchess dowager de Duras, and was related or allied to many of the ancient nobility. He had been imprisoned at La Force by Napoleon.

A proclamation, pretending to be from the crown prince, was secretly handed about at Paris, inviting the French to enter under the dominion of their ancient princes. The royalists were so far the dupes of this proclamation, and to the report of his being at Laon, that in one of their secret meetings they deputed two persons to endeavour to gain access to him. Messrs. de Gain-Montaignac and Vinchon de Quemont quitted

Paris for that purpose on the 9th of March. On the evening of the 12th they arrived at La Fère, and had an interview with general Bulow, who, to their utter astonishment, informed them that the crown prince, so far from being at Laon, as was believed in Paris, was at Liege, from whence he did not appear inclined to advance. The next day they obtained an interview with general Gneisseneau, who advised them to address themselves to the emperor of Russia; but though the general facilitated their journey, yet the difficulties they had to encounter were greater than they chose to risk, and they returned without seeing Alexander. Arriving at Paris on the 20th of March, they waited on Messrs. Fitzjames and Bruno de Boisgellin, who were much surprised to learn that Bernadotte was not the very soul of the coalition. They brought a letter from the prince Wolkensky, major-general to the emperor of Russia, to Talleyrand, and at night made a report of their mission to the royalist assembly. While these imagined that Bernadotte was zealous in the cause of legitimacy, the Napoleonists believed with greater reason he was manœuvring on his own account, and that he entertained great hopes of being called upon by the French to succeed their emperor.

27th.—I saw a line of about twenty *fiacres* and nearly forty carts, filled with wounded French soldiers, arrive at the newly fitted-up military hospital at the top of the Rue Rochechouart.

EVENTS OF MARCH 1814.

COLOURED prints, representing grim-looking monsters in uncouth dresses, (for which the artists had no authority), and in the act of committing every excess, entitled "Cossacks," were exposed for sale at all the print- and book-stalls in Paris.

On one occasion, during this month, I saw a superior officer, recently wounded, borne on a litter by infantry, and escorted by cavalry along the Boulevard des Italiens; and, a few days afterwards, another under similar circumstances.

4th.—Price of stocks,—5 per cents, 53 francs 73 centimes; bank actions, 710 francs.

8th.—On entering Paris by the Versailles road, at the Barrière des Bons-hommes, this evening, between seven and eight o'clock, a sentinel of the line stopped me, and said I must go into the corps de garde, and shew my *papiers*. On my instantly acquiescing in this unusual order, and putting my hand to my side-pocket, the officer of the national guard said, "Cela suffit," and I passed on; and not having spoke a word, my being an Englishman was unsuspected. Between the barrier and the bridge were two pieces of cannon, a second range of palisades, and a sentinel.

15th.—This evening, between six and seven o'clock, I saw about thirty sick and wounded soldiers lying in the street at the bottom of the Rue

Rochechouart. They had been brought from Brie in carts; and on arriving at the hospital at the top of the street, were refused admittance, for want of room. The country people who had been put in requisition to convey them to Paris, brought them to this spot, turned them out of their carts, and there left them, hastening away, lest they should be seized to carry bread to the army. Frequently those who had been pressed to convey the wounded for only five leagues, were detained fifteen, and even twenty, days from their homes, in consequence of fresh requisitions. The inhabitants, however, particularly the poorer classes, were very humane, and administered every succour in their power, and also received many of them into their dwellings, until they could be removed to the different hospitals.

23d.—A letter appeared in the *Moniteur*, signed by J. J. Leraux, doyen de la Faculté de Médecine à Paris, Chaussier, and Percy, professeurs à la Faculté, respecting the state of the waters in the Seine, which the public apprehended were deleterious, in consequence of the number of dead bodies thrown into the river. This fear they endeavoured to remove, by assuring the people that the continued fluctuation and change of water destroyed all putrescence, and that the fluid was consequently harmless. The number of dead bodies seen, either floating down the river, or stranded on the banks, was immense, and exhi-

bited an appalling spectacle. Many idle people in the neighbourhood of Melun, Corbeil, and Choissy le Roi, were engaged the whole day looking over the parapets of the bridges, to witness the bodies that floated down the Seine in countless numbers.

This was immediately after the battle of Montereau, when the dead were thrown into the river, to avoid the labour and expense of interment. Many others were also committed to the stream from the hospitals at Nogent, and other towns on the banks of the Seine. Hundreds of the wounded and diseased soldiers were packed together in large barges, without awnings or other protection, and exposed to severe frosts,—in consequence of which numbers perished, and were thrown overboard.

26th.—The distant roaring of artillery having more than once been heard at Paris, every sound of cannon near the capital excited alarm. To remove all fears, and ascribe such sounds to one cause, it was this day announced in the newspapers, that the artillerymen of the line and the national guard would daily practise with artillery at Vincennes.

A considerable number of the workmen out of employ daily loitered on the boulevards about the Porte St. Martin, as it was by this road that waggons and carts, laden with the wounded French, and detachments of prisoners, arrived. The passing

of couriers to and from the army, the departure of reinforcements almost every hour, produced fresh objects to excite or gratify curiosity. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, it proved that the police were conciliating the lower orders: for I had never before witnessed assemblies of this kind in Paris; nor, indeed, had they been permitted for many years, however insignificant the persons, or harmless the motives which induced them to collect together. Yet from the beginning of March they were tolerated, and their numbers increased until this day, when, as soon as groups were formed, the national guard ordered them to disperse; and the people, having assembled merely to occupy their idle time, and share in the excitement and incidents of the hour, instantly obeyed.

Price of stocks,—5 per cents, 46 francs, 35 centimes; bank actions, 615 francs.

In France, *taxes* are paid monthly; if otherwise, it is in consequence of a private arrangement with the collector. During February, the amount of taxes suffered little diminution in the mean daily receipt, which for the city of Paris is seventy thousand francs; the whole annual produce being twenty-five millions of francs. In the month of March, not more than from two to three hundred francs per diem could be obtained.

All classes of persons shewed the greatest reluctance to part with their money. Few workmen or artisans were employed, and those few

could not obtain wages. So great was the stagnation of trade, that shopkeepers were eager to sell their goods considerably under prime cost. Money became so scarce, that many persons were obliged to send their forks and spoons to the mint to be coined. There was a premium of forty francs for fifty pieces of twenty francs in gold; all persons were desirous of hoarding.

Sunday, 27th.—I was present at a review of the Parisian national guards, to the number of nearly thirty thousand, by Joseph Buonaparte, in the court-yard of the Tuilleries. About twelve thousand were armed with second-hand muskets, carbines, and fowling-pieces; and wore new uniforms. Those who could not thus equip themselves were armed with a pike only, which was dignified by the name of lance, and had a tricoloured pennon hanging to it. There were also about two hundred and fifty cavalry of the line, and a considerable train of artillery, of which several pieces were worked by the Polytechnic scholars. The troops were under arms at nine in the morning, and the review continued until three. The court-yard of the Tuilleries, and Place Carousel, Quai du Louvre, Place Vendôme, Rue Castiglione, and Rue de Rivoli, were entirely filled with troops, which successively defiled before the " roi Joseph." The day was very fine, and the environs of the palace were crowded with spectators, who all exulted at the sight of so many new uniforms,

and expressed their wishes that the enemy could only behold them—little doubting but that the terror of the allies would equal the self-admiration of the French. To render this show more dazzling to the Parisians, general Ornano lent the national guard two thousand muskets belonging to the arsenal of the imperial guard, but upon the express condition that they were to be returned the next day. The position of the allies was totally unknown to the Parisians, who little thought they were then crossing the Marne, within twenty-five miles of Paris.

At night, however, the flying French troops announced to the inhabitants of Claye, Villeparisis, Livry, &c. that the enemy were closely in pursuit of them.

The head-quarters of the sovereigns was at Coulomiers, and Blucher's at La Ferté-sur-Jouarre.

In the afternoon, the corps of Yorke and Kleïst began to cross the Marne at Triport, three miles above Meaux, by a bridge which general Mufflin threw across the river; and at Germigny l'Evêque, one mile higher up. A trifling resistance was made by the national guard. General Mufflin, quarter-master-general of the Silesian army, told me there was a smart affair at Triport. About nine in the evening, some French cavalry galloped through Meaux, evidently routed, but gave no warning to the inhabitants of the enemy's approach.

During the night, a cannonading was heard at Meaux: the allies entered that city between twelve and one in the morning; and, at about three in the morning of the 28th, the whole neighbourhood was thrown into the greatest alarm by a tremendous explosion of the French powder magazine, situated at the entrance of Meaux from Paris. This was done without any warning having been given to the inhabitants of the town. Several adjacent houses were thrown down by the concussion, and most of the windows in the city were broken, though no lives were lost. A large house, which had formerly been an inn, was, at the beginning of March, converted into this powder magazine. Early on the preceding day, the French began to remove the powder in boats down the Marne; but the rapid approach of the allied army prevented its being entirely carried away; they therefore blew it up, to prevent its falling into their hands. The advanced guard arrived at Livry at nine in the evening, harassed by the Cossacks, by one of whom a French lancer was dreadfully wounded at eleven o'clock, within a quarter of a mile of the village, which is at the ninth *borne*, or thousand toise-stone, from Nôtre Dame at Paris:—equal to eleven English miles and a quarter.

28th.—In the *Journal de Paris*, this day, under the head of "Paris:"—"King Joseph passed in review yesterday 15,000 troops of the

line, imperial guard, cavalry, and infantry, and 20,000 national guards of Paris, with their artillery. The troops depart for the army *au premier jour.*"

In the *Moniteur*, dated Paris, the 27th:—

NOUVELLES DES ARMÉES.

"*Doulevent*, 25 *Mars*, 1814.

"Le quartier-général de l'empereur est ici. L'armée Française occupe Chaumont, Brienne. Elle est en communication avec Troyes, et ses patrouilles vont jusqu'à Langres. De tout côté on remène des prisonniers. La santé de sa majesté est très-bonne."

Price of stocks,—5 per cents, 45 f. 50 c.; 45 f. 75 c.; bank actions, 555, 565.

Before day-break, the terrified population of the country between Meaux and Paris came pouring into the capital, with their aged, infirm, children, cats, dogs, live-stock, corn, hay, and household goods of every description. The boulevards were crowded with waggons, carts, and carriages, thus laden, to which cattle were tied, and the whole surrounded by women on foot. The distress of these poor refugees was augmented by being forced to pay the *octroi* at the gates of Paris, for which many were obliged to sell part of their stock at the barriers, to obtain what, they hoped, would be security for the rest,—the right of taking it within the walls; thus displaying to the

inhabitants of Paris a picture of the effects of war, far different from that which they had been accustomed to look upon. According to general report, the Cossacks,—a term by which all the allied troops were designated,—had burnt Meaux, and were rapidly advancing without interruption: yet all this had little effect on the staring Parisians, whom the country people reviled for apathy and cowardice, in not rising to repel the enemy. I went up the Rue Faubourg St. Martin, at half-past three in the afternoon: the peasantry, still arriving in vast numbers, reported, that at twelve o'clock there had been a sharp action at Claye, a village fifteen *bornes* (eighteen and three-quarters English miles) from Paris; but of the result I could obtain no account. Near the church of St. Laurent, I met about fifty prisoners taken in that contest; some were sinking from toil and loss of blood, their unbound wounds were still bleeding, and, to increase their misery, all were crowded into one cart. The country people whom I now questioned, agreed that the enemy were at Claye, where an action had taken place; some said they had advanced to Villeparisis (which was the fact, where a severe conflict occurred in the streets, with much bayoneting, man to man, and in which two hundred of the French were killed); others said that they were driven back; some, that there were forty thousand; others, only twenty thousand; and some averred that they did not

exceed six thousand. I walked out of Paris by the barrier of Pantin, on the Meaux road, which every one was now allowed to do, without being subjected to examination of pass-ports or cartes de sûreté, as had been the case at all the barriers for some days previously: few profited by this, and still fewer had curiosity sufficient to urge them to proceed above a quarter of a mile. All soldiers who attempted to enter the barriers were put under arrest. I saw about forty of these lying on the ground near the barrier, under guard, awaiting to be conducted to the état-major. Within the palisades were two small field-pieces and some Polytechnic scholars on duty. On the sides of the road to Pantin were the French cavalry, infantry, and artillerymen, reposing, with cannon, tumbrils, &c. Several had lighted fires, and were cooking, and all waiting for orders, having had rendezvous given them here after the battle at Claye, which some said lasted until nearly two o'clock; others, that it was over at half-past twelve. That they had been repulsed and dispersed, was very evident. Among them I observed some of the cavalry which I had seen reviewed the day before.

I breakfasted this morning at the duchesse de C——'s, in the Rue de Lille (now Bourbon). An event, which part of the family had just witnessed at the church of St. Thomas d'Aquin, engrossed the whole of the conversation. The

devotion of the congregation having been disturbed by the great central doors of the church being suddenly thrown open, and that cowardly sycophant, of infamous reputation, the arch-chancellor Cambaçeres, who had never been previously known to attend this his parish church, was ushered in, full dressed in white, and with all the homage of ecclesiastical pomp,—priests, with sacring boys, swinging incense. Being thus conducted to the place of honour, he began a Novenna.* Whether "*monseigneur*" continued this series of supplication at Blois, I could not learn. The interest which this pompous display of faith excited, prevented attention to the mighty events that were passing on the other side of the city, and of which, till my arrival, they were wholly ignorant.

In the evening I went to the café Lecuy, and there met Gautherot, the historical painter, and Lenard, who had been that morning as far as Villeparisis, and had there witnessed the retreat of the French, and also saw the allies take possession of the heights above that village, (which is only twelve *bornes*, or sixteen English miles, from the capital). They were slowly advancing.

This day the Silesian army, with their bands

* A *Novenna* is a series of prayers continued during nine days, for the obtaining of certain favours, under the invocation of any particular saint, or addressed immediately to God.

playing at the head of each regiment, crossed the Marne at Triport. General Mufflin was repairing the bridge at Meaux, which was not rendered passable until evening. The battle of Claye proved to have commenced at ten o'clock. The allies attacked and drove in the rear-guard of the French; but they rallied and repulsed the enemy, who returned in such numbers as to overpower the French, many of whom were killed in the streets of Claye. The whole was over at two o'clock. Blucher established his head-quarters at Plessis Belleville, and forbade the adjacent village of Ermenonville to be occupied by any part of his army, out of respect to the spot where J. J. Rousseau died and was buried.

Tuesday, 29th. — The national guard was this morning under arms in every part of Paris. The barriers and all the military posts in the interior of the city were delivered up to them by the troops of the line, who bivouacked without the walls. The " roi Joseph " visited the heights about noon; but was prevented from proceeding far, as they were occupied by the allies, of whose force he returned as ignorant as when he set out. Thus was the safety of the metropolis confided to a man whose want of intellect and inexperience in war was not even compensated by personal courage; and this was not the result of dire necessity, but of Napoleon's own combinations.

The influx of the surrounding population con-

tinued to pour into the city for refuge and protection; but of the situation, or force of the allied army, every one appeared marvellously ignorant; nor did its approach excite any great consternation in the thoughtless Parisians. The peasantry, after depositing their property, augmented the number of stupid gapers on the boulevards, along which, at ten o'clock, some artillery, tumbrils, and small detachments of cavalry, passed towards the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. The lugubrious sound of the tumbrils, rolling along the pavement, harmonised with the foreboding aspect of affairs.

I went this morning to the Museum of the Louvre, where I found nearly the usual number of artists: some of them were quietly copying the pictures; but many were looking from the windows into the court-yard of the Tuilleries at the preparations for the departure of the empress, Marie-Louise.

Napoleon had sent orders to the arch-chancellor, that if the allies approached Paris, the empress regent, the king of Rome, the council of the regency, ministers, senate, &c. should repair to the banks of the Loire; vainly flattering himself, that, should a party hostile to him be formed in Paris under the sanction of the allies, not having the seal of the empire to affix to their acts, they would not be valid. The empress and council of the regency wished to remain at

Paris; but on Cambaceres producing the imperial mandate, all further remarks ceased.

It is the general opinion, even among the most strenuous partisans of the Bourbons, that had the empress remained, whatever might have been the fate of Napoleon, there would have been no movement in behalf of the royal family; and the little band of royalists finding no support, would have pined away neglected and despised.

At day-break, the disorder which had reigned all night in the Tuilleries was exposed to the public. The window-shutters being opened, the wax lights in the chandeliers were seen expiring in their sockets. The ladies of the court were discovered running from apartment to apartment; some were weeping, and in a state of distraction; whilst servants were hurrying from place to place in like confusion. At half after six, fifteen fourgons, escorted by cavalry, left the palace. It was afterwards known that these carriages contained the amassed treasures of Napoleon. Sentries, stationed in the court-yard, prevented any of the spectators approaching this part of the palace. At eight o'clock the travelling carriages were at that entrance of the Tuilleries near the Pavillon de Flore, and arrangements were making for departure. A little before nine, an officer came to the door from the interior with fresh orders, in consequence of which the carriages were taken

across the Place Carousel back to the stables. Cambaceres arrived ten minutes after nine; and a few minutes after, a servant galloped to the stables, the carriages returned, the preparations for the journey were continued and partially completed, and at half-past ten the empress Marie Louise, in a brown cloth riding-habit, with the king of Rome in one coach, surrounded by guards, and followed by several other coaches, with attendants, quitted the palace; the spectators preserving the most profound silence. They proceeded along the quay under the garden-wall: to this first cavalcade succeeded other carriages with the domestics, and the state coach covered up. This scene occupied the whole day and until seven in the morning of the 30th. Even after the capitulation of Paris was signed, several waggons, laden with large packing-cases, were driven from the palace.

The empress slept this night at the palace of Rambouillet; the 30th, at Chartres; the 31st, at Chateaudun; at Vendome on the 1st of April; and from thence, by a very bad road, and after a laborious journey, arrived at Blois on the 2d, at five in the afternoon. Immediately after the departure of the empress, all persons were turned out of the Museum, and the doors were closed. I then went to the Fauxbourg St. Martin, where I saw the following address on the wall: —

"LE ROI JOSEPH,

"*Lieutenant-général de l'Empereur, Commandant-en-chef de la Garde Nationale, aux Citoyens de Paris.*

"Citoyens de Paris,—Une colonne ennemie s'est portée sur Meaux. Elle s'avance par route d'Allemagne; mais l'empereur la suit de près, à la tête d'une armée victorieuse.

"Le conseil de régence a pourvu à la sûreté de l'imperatrice et du roi de Rome. Je reste avec vous.

"Armons-nous, pour défendre cette ville, ses monumens, ses richesses, nos femmes, nos enfans, tout ce qui nous est cher; que cette vaste cité devienne un camp pour quelques instans, et que l'ennemi trouve sa honte sous ses mûrs, qu'il espère franchir en triomphe.

"L'empereur marche à notre secours. Secondez-le par une courte et vive résistance, et conservons l'honneur Français.

Paris, le 29 *Mars,* 1814. (Signé) "JOSEPH."

The fauxbourg was thronged with people: about two o'clock the guard cleared it, and no person was afterwards allowed to pass. I met a fellow-détenu, (Mr. L.) and walked with him out at the barrière Poissonnière, and ascended the eastern side of Montmartre; but on the extensive plain which we commanded, from thence, by our elevation of about two hundred and fifty feet,

there was no appearance of troops. From the edge of a wood, on the heights between Raincy and Montfermel, which, beginning at Claye, (a market town,) command and skirt the high road to the capital, we saw smoke, and distinctly heard the sound of artillery. Whilst exercising our conjectures on the position of the armies, to our great astonishment, at ten minutes after four, we heard and saw three cannon fired in succession from a battery at La Villete, constructed where the canal de l'Ourcq crosses the road at the northern extremity of the village, in the pass between the vertical escarpment of the Butte St. Chaumont and Montmartre, and at less than a mile from the walls of the city. We could not ascertain the cause of the firing, but afterwards learned it was at some éclaireurs, who had advanced to the farm of Rouvry, on the left of the road from Paris to Pantin. The heights from which we saw the firing were then occupied by the allies, who were cannonading the rear of the French in their retreat upon Paris. There were about twenty persons, whom curiosity had drawn to the same spot on which we stood. We instantly returned to Paris, apprehending that the barriers might be shut. In coming down the fauxbourg Poissonière, we saw an aide-de-camp arrive at marshal Marmont's, in the Rue de Paradis.

The proclamation of roi Joseph was selling, for a sou, on the boulevards, where groups of people

were assembled. Much agitation now prevailed—the flight of the empress caused considerable alarm. Many loudly expressed their discontent at the national guard, for permitting her to leave Paris, as they entertained a dastardly hope that her presence would preserve them from the vengeance of the allies. For the first time, I heard the people openly dare to vent complaints against the emperor, as the sole cause of the impending calamity; but I witnessed no patriotic feeling to repulse the enemy. At dusk, a train of very large waggons, laden with sacks of ammunition-bread, passed along the Boulevard des Italiens, to the westward: thus the situation of the rear of the army could no longer be concealed. As night came on, the varying rumours increased. Between seven and eight o'clock, St. Denis, and even Clichy, were falsely reported to have been taken; but of Romainville, a village within three miles of the gates of Paris, being occupied by the enemy, which it had been for more than two hours, I did not hear a word. Of the situation of the allies, or of their numbers, all seemed ignorant: few allowed them to amount to 20,000: 30,000 was the greatest number I heard named. M. Gustave (now duke de Coigny), who in the Moscow campaign lost his arm, had been aide-de-camp to general Sebastiani, rode out to the advanced posts in the morning, and returned with a report that there were not more than 30,000 of the allies.

M. Lebreton, the secretary of the fourth class of the Institute, told me he called in the evening on the duke of Rovigo, at the hotel of the minister of police, Quai Malaquais, and found him playing at billiards with count Real, and conversing at the same time on the situation of things. Rovigo, though he had ridden that morning towards Villeparisis, did not believe there were more than 40,000 of the allies marching against Paris; and Real maintaining that there were only 30,000, urged the minister to publish an ordinance, commanding the inhabitants of Paris, under pain of death, to unpave the streets, and carry the stones into the upper rooms; that those who remained in the houses, even the women, might throw them on the enemy, and also to fire upon them from the windows. The duke said it could not be done.

At the Théâtre Feydeau there were only three persons in the pit when the curtain drew up, nor at any time during the evening were there more than twenty in the house.

About nine o'clock I went to the café de Lecuy, where I met lieutenant Prot, who had just arrived at Paris with marshal Marmont's corps, which, in conjunction with that of marshal Mortier, having fought on the 25th at Bussy-l'Estrée, between Arcis-sur-Aube and Chalons, and been beaten, were compelled to retreat by cross-roads, pursued by the allies, and obliged to abandon all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. The

remains of these corps were then entering Paris by Charenton bridge.

Marshal Moncey visited the different posts of the national guard, on horseback, about dusk, attended by an aide-de-camp. At the post in the Rue de Provence, near the end of the Rue Cerutti, the soldiers turned out to receive him. He addressed them, saying that the enemy was advancing, and he would not conceal that there was some danger, but the troops under the walls of the capital would hold them in check; that the emperor was coming, and they must remain firm at their posts. Marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, informed me, (May 30, 1814,) that when at Rheims, after the battle of Craone, he received orders from the emperor Napoleon to make a junction with marshal Mortier, duke of Treviso, and march to Paris to protect the city. On their arrival at Fismes, they received counter orders to proceed by forced marches to Chalons; but on arriving at Vertus, they obtained information that it was in possession of the allies, whose position and motions, combined with those of other divisions of the allied army, rendered it evident to him that they were rapidly moving on Paris. He was therefore desirous of marching directly to the capital. This the duke of Treviso opposed, alleging that the sudden appearance of their corps would greatly alarm the inhabitants. Marmont replied, "Will, then, the arrival of the enemy

frighten them less?" After the affair of Bussy-l'Estrée, on the 25th, the marshals continued their retreat. On arriving at Rosay, Marmont was of opinion that they should advance to Meaux, to defend that passage of the Marne, which point they might gain before the allied army; but as Mortier persisted in directing his march to Melun, he was under the necessity of following him, and thence arrived at Paris on the 29th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. He immediately visited the heights of Belleville,—a situation which he had never before studied as a military position.

Finding part of the ground much intersected by garden walls, and deeming it advantageous that openings should be made in them, to facilitate the motions of the troops and artillery, he waited on the minister of war in the evening, to request that he would give the necessary orders; but not obtaining an interview with him, left a message to that effect with his secretary. However, the next day he found that not a stone had been removed.

During the evening and night, his corps, to the number of 2600 men, and that of the duke of Treviso, consisting of 7000, arrived at Paris.

The grand army passed the Marne this morning at day-break, and established their head-quarters at Claye. Blucher marched on; and moving to the right, fixed his head-quarters at

Aunay. General Mufflin, quarter-master-general of the Silesian army, told me he lodged at madame de Tessiers' château, and Blucher in the village, where they arrived at six in the evening. In consequence of the emperor of Russia having sent word to Blucher not to advance too rapidly, in order that both armies might be united, and the attack upon Paris made general, the bivouac of Langeron's corps was disposed between Damartin and Bourget, and extended nearly from the extremity of one town to that of the other. Mufflin having made this disposition, he despatched an officer to prince Schwartzenberg, who was at Claye; but the guide giving him the slip on the way, prevented his arrival at head-quarters until after midnight.* The orders he there received were, to advance immediately and attack; but again losing his way, instead of returning at one o'clock, as was calculated, he did not reach Aunay until nearly six. Mufflin then sent orders to Langeron to advance and attack Montmartre, and instantly moved forward upon La Villette, by Aubervilliers. Langeron's corps marched towards St. Ouen and Clichy, but where, in consequence of the evasion of the guide, it could only arrive in the middle of

* The distance from Aunay to Claye is only ten English miles, and chiefly consists of an open plain, through which the canal d'Ourcq is conducted. Part of it is occupied by the forest of Bondi, in which not only the guide might easily make his escape, but the stranger lose his way.

the day. The principal attack was made by the corps of York and Kleist, at La Chapelle and La Villette, and where general Mufflin himself was.

The following article in the *Moniteur*, which was the only intelligence of the situation of the armies, was published this day:—

"*Nouvelles des Armées.*—Le 26 de ce mois, sa majesté l'empereur a battu, à St. Dizier, le général Witzingerode; lui a fait deux milles prisonniers; lui a pris des cannons, et beaucoup de voitures de bagages. Ce corps a été poursuivi très-loin."

The following is the only article which appeared in any of the newspapers respecting the state of France, at the very gates of the capital.

"*Journal de Paris, Avril* 29.

"Depuis trois heures du matin de la journée de hier, un grand nombre de troupes, infanterie et cavalerie, sont parties de Paris pour l'armée. Hier, vers cinq heures du soir, un détachement de prisonniers de guerre est arrivé à Paris par la barrière de Pantin. Au moment où il passoit sur les boulevards intérieur du nord, un train considérable d'artillerie, suivant les mêmes boulevards, se dirigent sur Meaux.

"Les compagnies du centre de la garde nationale de Paris ont commencé avant-hier à faire usage des lances nouvellement fabriquées: on y adapte une petite oriflamme, indiquant le numéro des légions.

" S. A. le Prince archichancelier de l'empire a assisté hier à l'assemblée du senat."

Such was the degraded prostitution of the press, and such the credulity of its readers.

The keeper of the telegraph on the tower of the church at Montmartre told me, that at twelve o'clock this day the inspector of his post arrived in great haste and fright, and ordered him instantly to dismount the telegraph, and to take the two telescopes into Paris, saying that something might occur in the night.

At night he saw the bivouac fires of the allies on all the heights from Damartin and Vaujours along the forest of Bondi, until hid by the bois de Romainville.

There were only some artillerymen, but no troops on Montmartre this night. He first heard the cannon in the direction of Meaux on the 27th, in the evening.

The price of stocks this day,—5 per cents, 45 f. 23 c.; 45 f.; 45 f. 23 c.; 45 f.; 45 f. 10 c.; 45 f. Actions in the bank of France, 550 f.; 540 f.; 530 f.; 520 f.; 515 f.; 520 f.

The grand army, under the command of prince Schwartzenberg, crossed the Marne at Meaux and Triport, and, excepting the corps of Wreden and Sacken, who were left to secure the passage of the river at Meaux, advanced upon Paris by the high road.

Prince Schwartzenberg sent a flag of truce

from his head-quarters at Claye to general Compens, offering terms for the evacuation of Paris; but roi Joseph, to whom the general forwarded the despatches at Paris, would not listen to them. At a little before three in the afternoon, the last three vedettes of the French cavalry which remained at Sevran were recalled by an officer; they were pursued to Livry. The whole of the morning the inhabitants of Livry and the adjacent villages continued removing their live-stock and furniture, with which, and the cavalry, artillery, tumbrils, and baggage of the retreating French army, the road was rendered almost impassable; and, to increase the confusion, the enemy, who were masters of the heights which commanded the road, cannonaded them, particularly between the eighth and ninth *borne*, where it is unsheltered by wood. About four in the afternoon, the allied army arrived by the high road at the fifth *borne*, and there dividing by the village of Baubigny, which is half a mile from the road, their right advanced towards St. Denis, and the left ascended the heights above Noisy le Sec. At five, a swarm of Cossacks rushed unexpectedly on the few inhabitants of Romainville that had remained there, supposing that some of general Compens' corps would either occupy that village or pass through it in their retreat, and that till then they were in safety. The poor people took to flight, but some were first rifled. The enemy arrived in great

numbers on this plateau, which extends from Rosory to the butte St. Chaumont, and not only occupied the village all night, but even the villa of the senator-general de Vallence, son-in-law of madame de Genlis, at the entrance of the wood which is between it and Belleville. The next morning the French took possession of this wood, filled it with their sharp-shooters, and advanced towards the village of Romainville.

The empress Josephine quitted Malmaison for her domain at Navarre, in the department de l'Eure, near Evreux, at half after two o'clock in the afternoon, having waited nearly an hour for the arrival of a bag of money from Paris to defray the expenses of her journey. There were three carriages; and the first six leagues were performed with her own horses, the remaining fourteen leagues with those of the post. Constantine, the keeper of her pictures, was at Malmaison when she set off, by whom she sent a letter to the minister of police. At Navarre, mademoiselle de Comonde told me, she was joined by her daughter, the queen of Holland. In public she preserved her habitual calm and amiable manners: but she passed the night at her window and on a terrace in the garden, eagerly listening for the approach of a courier charged with her future destiny, of which, as well as what had taken place at Paris, all in the château remained ignorant for a week.

Mademoiselle de Comonde, demoiselle d'honneur to the empress Josephine, told me she was in the carriage with the empress on the journey to Navarre, and that as Josephine adored her son Eugene Beauharnois, his position caused her the greatest uneasiness. She always continued to love Napoleon, whom she saw for the last time just before he set out for Moscow. She sometimes went from Malmaison to Paris after dark to see queen Hortensia, who resided in the Rue Cerutti.

This extraordinary separation from Napoleon, who, it is well known, always entertained for this fascinating woman, his divorced empress, the most constant affection, was attributed at court to the protest and interference of the empress Marie Louise.

Wednesday, 30th. — I was awakened at half after six by a single drummer of the national guard going round beating to arms, and at the same moment heard the roaring of cannon in the direction of Belleville. It was a mild, gray morning. On looking out, I saw numbers of my neighbours of both sexes, with their night-capped heads out of window, and in a state of semi-nudity, which produced a very singular effect. The third battalion of the second legion of the national guard was forming in the street* before

* Rue Cerutti, now d'Artois.

the house of the chef de bataillon, count Alexandre de Laborde, and where they were receiving ball-cartridges. Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely, the chief of the second legion, was riding about on a prancing cream-coloured charger, blustering and giving orders.

Mr. L—— called, and we walked as far as the fountain on the Boulevard de Bondi; but there was no appearance of military on that side of the Butte St. Chaumont and Belleville: we therefore proceeded thence by the Rue des Vinaigriers to a field behind the hospital St. Louis, but we could only see a vedette: a heavy cannonade was heard to the north and east, apparently very near to us. A few people had collected in this field, and amongst them I observed a hawker crying bread and brandy, "Prenez la goutte, cassez la croûte," with as much unconcern as at a fair. The national guards at the adjoining barrier would not suffer any one to pass. We crossed to the upper part of the Fauxbourg St. Martin, where several of the fiacres were collecting by the police-officers, who had put them in requisition for the service of the wounded. From thence we descended the fauxbourg, where no one out of uniform was allowed to loiter. The military were, by order, forcing the inhabitants to shut their porte-cochères and shops. When we arrived on the boulevards,

many persons were assembled out of curiosity; but no patriotic energy, no consternation, or any tendency to it, was evinced: the people appeared almost every thing but what might be expected they would or ought to be. The grisettes were running about giggling and laughing: small parties of soldiers under arms were moving in different directions. Some national guards were conducting three prisoners of war to the état-major, one of whom had just been wounded; a few of the people proposed killing the prisoners, but those who openly commiserated them were the most numerous.

I breakfasted with Mr. L—— at nine o'clock. The cannonade nearly ceased from nine to half-past ten, when it became very brisk. After breakfast we called on the princess de C—— and Miss d'A——, whose court-yard was full of cows belonging to some country people. We then went to the Rue de Clichy: the third battalion of the second legion, consisting of three hundred national guards, were marching up this street, with drums beating, headed by counts Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely and Alexander de Laborde, on horseback; the former looking very pompous, and the latter grave; the major part of the privates with rolls, buns, or pieces of bread stuck upon their bayonets, affecting to imitate the regulars carrying their ammunition-

bread when on a march; but none seemed to take an interest in the battle.* Arriving at the barrier, they halted. We waited some time to see if they would go out; but observing no such disposition, and being unable to get through the ranks so as to gain the chemin-ronde, we returned, and went by the Rue du Rocher to the barrier of Mousseaux, when we found that none but military were allowed to go out of Paris. Thence we went to the Rue Cisalpine, wishing to get into Mousseaux gardens, in which was a post of national guards; but a sentry, at the corner of the Rue de Courcelles, prevented us from approaching the entrance to the gardens. We therefore returned to the large field behind Tivoli gardens, in which, from the barrier of Clichy to that of Mousseaux, a subterraneous aqueduct was constructing, parallel and near to the wall of Paris. The earth thrown out formed a bank sufficiently high to enable us to look over the wall, and command a view of the western part of the plain of St. Denis, from Clichy to St. Ouen, and to the right of Montmartre, Belleville, Menil-montant, and Mont Louis, beyond which we were prevented from seeing by the houses in the Rue de

* Three or four of the first of these, who went out voluntarily in the plain of St. Denis, were killed a few hours after. There were two other battalions at the barrier: fifty of these, and thirty of the third, and a few others, went out into the plain; but count de Laborde told me it was perfectly voluntary.

Clichy. We determined to remain on this spot, calculating that the allies would attempt to turn Montmartre, and that from this position we should be enabled to see the manœuvre. At this time we could only see three or four soldiers at the west summit of Montmartre. At about twelve o'clock the cannonade slackened, and the musketry was rarely heard; but at half-past one the firing became general along the whole line on the heights, extending beyond Mont Louis from the Butte St. Chaumont. From between Menilmontant and Belleville the cannonade appeared very brisk among the trees. A house was on fire at Belleville, the smoke of which ascended far above that of the artillery, and was, by its blackish-brown colour, easily distinguished from the white smoke of gunpowder.* Towards three o'clock the firing almost ceased in that direction.

About one o'clock, nearly an hundred national guards, preceded by their pioneers, marched out of the barrier of Clichy as volunteers, taking the St. Denis road, but quitted it at the first turning to the left; then moving to the right we lost sight

* This house I afterwards saw: it is situated at Belleville, in the Rue St. Denis, No. 136, to the left on going out of the Rue de Romainville, forming the right-hand corner of the Rue Thiery. It was a ladies' boarding-school, and the fire was occasioned by the shell from a howitzer breaking through the roof and exploding. It was considerably damaged, and was not repaired until September 1815.

of them behind the Clichy road, at the base of Montmartre. About half an hour after, we perceived a few stragglers of the allied cavalry on the Chemin de la Revolt,* and in the cross-road which branches from it near the park of St. Ouen to Clichy, towards the latter of which they were advancing, exchanging some pistol-shots, at the same time, with the French horse. Shortly afterwards, four regiments of the allied infantry, arriving by the same road, made their appearance on the plain between Clichy and St. Ouen, over which the sharp-shooters of both armies were thickly scattered. Those of the French consisted of national guards. Some women and country-people were seen running across the fields from Clichy, which we shortly afterwards saw was in the possession of the allies, who, advancing by the road from that village to Montmartre, began to fire from a cannon and a howitzer. Another cannon and a howitzer, placed on the summit of the westernmost windmill, returned six or seven shots, and at the same time the French opened two pieces from the elevated part of the same road, where it intersects that from St. Denis to the barrier. The white appearance of the smoke, contrasted with the deep blue of the hills

* The Chemin de la Revolt goes from the Porte Maillot, in the Bois de Boulogne, to St. Denis, leaving Clichy and St. Ouen to the left.

of Montmorency and the lowering sky, produced a grand effect. Shortly afterwards, the cannon belonging to the allies ceased firing. That part of the battle which we could distinguish extended from the village of Clichy until it was hid from us by the rising ground of the road from Clichy to Montmartre, and that of St. Denis. From behind this ground, occasionally a dragoon appeared, leading off his wounded horse. Though what I saw did not fully come up to my idea of the tumult of a battle, yet the novelty of the scene—the roaring of the artillery—the noise of the shot and shells rushing through the air—the evident progress of the allies—and the vain confidence of my fellow-spectators, who, blinded by vanity, considered it as a trifling affair—the hope that a few hours would end my captivity—all tended to render the present moment that of the highest excitement and deepest interest I had experienced in my life.

One man only seemed deeply and silently to feel the humiliation of his country. Many looked on with apathy, and some with satisfaction; but of the immense force of the enemy, all were ignorant. In general, it was believed to be but inconsiderable; for even at half-past three, I heard a fellow, in answer to the remark that the firing increased, say, "Ils jouissent de leur reste; ils seront bientôt nos prisonniers."

The stables and woodstack of a house at Les

Batignoles, just without the barrier of Clichy, were set on fire by a shell from a howitzer; but after burning some time, the pioneers of the national guard succeeded in extinguishing it.*

A horse, with his hind leg dangling by a sinew, was brought into the field where we were, to whose misery a national guard humanely put an end with a musket-ball.

At three o'clock we walked to the barrier of Clichy, and saw about fifty French cavalry and artillerymen come in with a cannon, a howitzer, and some tumbrils, pretending they were bringing in dismounted pieces, and going to fetch ammunition; but as one of the national guards remarked that the pieces were uninjured, and as, at the same time, a considerable body of cavalry and infantry was attempting to crowd into Paris, the guard posted at the barrier would not let those who were already within proceed, and with great difficulty effected the shutting and barring of the gates of the palisades against those who were without. We returned to our former station, and had scarcely reached it, when a considerable number of French cavalry and infantry, fugitives from the battle, rushed in at the barrier of

* The house belonged to M. Robin, the notary, and is situated in the first turning to the right on the St. Denis road; it is No. 2, and is remarkable from having a hexagonal Belvidere on the top. Damage was done to the amount of three thousand francs.

Mousseaux, and endeavoured to penetrate into the city. The national guard stopped them, and succeeded in forcing some of the infantry out. A fresh body of national guards arrived, by the Rue du Rocher, with drums beating: few of them were in uniform or armed with muskets, having, in general, only pikes with a tricolor pennon. But the fortune of the day was now decided: the national guards, who were without the walls, returned in disorder. One of them told us that the French troops of the line were running from all their posts, and that the road on the other side of the wall was strewed with the muskets they had thrown away. In this they had been imitated by the national guard, as I saw several without arms, though in uniform. The allied cavalry were now advancing by the fields from Clichy: a squadron of French went to meet them. We were in expectation of seeing a charge; but when they were within about two hundred yards of each other, the French coolly wheeled about, and came leisurely back, the allies continuing as slowly to advance; but not even a pistol-shot was exchanged. At four o'clock we saw the inhabitants of Montmartre running down the old road by the Poirier-sans-pareil, and a few minutes after, two squadrons of French cavalry followed; but before they were half-way down, our eyes were caught by the sight of sharp-shooters of the Silesian army appearing

in rapid succession, and as they gained the various points of the summit, opening a quick, scattered fire upon the fugitives, who returned a few shots in their flight. This, from the irregularity of the ground, and the steepness and winding nature of the road, had a most picturesque and scenic effect. Montmartre was immediately covered by the allies, who, from the different terraces, opened a terrible fire of musketry on the troops which were crowding in at the barriers.

At twenty minutes after four, the artillery abandoned by the French on the summit of Montmartre, was turned upon Paris, which the enemy began to cannonade. One ball passed just above our heads, and plowed up the earth close behind us. The boys scrambled for it; but the other spectators scampered away towards the streets. As there were several national guards on the bank on which we were, it is probable that this ball was fired at them, as all the succeeding balls passed into Paris. One man was mortally wounded in a house in the Rue St. Nicholas, near the Rue du Mont-blanc, and was taken to the hospital, where he died. A shell from a howitzer burst in the gardens of the Hôtel-Telluson, Rue de Provence: another fell on Mr. Greffulhe's garden of the Pavillon de la Boissière, Rue de Clichy. A cannon-ball knocked down a chimney of a house in the Rue Basse du Rempart, No. 8, and fell in the garden of the Hôtel de Gontaud-Biron.

I afterwards saw a window-frame which had been shattered, in the Rue St. Martin, opposite the junction of the two roads to Bourget and to Bondi. The porter of a house in the Rue Fontaine-au-Roi, Fauxbourg de Temple, was killed at his door by a cannon-ball, and doubtless many others I did not hear of. We returned by the Rue du Rocher. Some national guards, who came in with us, loudly complained of having been abandoned by the troops of the line. Three or four ladies were going up to the barrier in search of their husbands, who were in the national guard. We attempted in vain to persuade them to turn back, as we believed the allies were on the point of rushing into the city. In our way homewards, we again called on the princess de C——, who informed us that she had just heard from M. d'Herboville, formerly prefect of the department of the Rhone, that there was a capitulation going on, which was shortly afterwards confirmed to me by M. Laffite, my banker, whom I met in the Rue Cerutti. As I passed the Rue de Clichy, I saw the inhabitants barricading the lower end with carts, ladders, furniture, logs of firewood, &c. apprehending that the enemy were coming in.

The firing ceased about five o'clock, with the exception of now and then a distant and random shot. At this time I took a few turns on the boulevards, which were crowded with people, all seemingly ignorant of the fate of the day.

The French army was filing mournfully to the Champs Elysées, and all were in a silent, sulky mood, strangely contrasting with their usual animation and loquacity. Some cavalry, who were drunk, had got off their horses, and wanted to quarrel with, and sabre the bystanders. They bivouacked in the Champs Elysées, the Place Louis XV., and in the Rue de Rivoli, until they evacuated Paris during the night.

I observed two soldiers conducting a Russian prisoner to the état-major in the Place Vendôme.

I returned to Mr. L——, in the Rue Trudon, to dinner. From every information we had been able to collect, we were induced to believe that there was only a suspension of arms until nine o'clock at night, unless the terms of a capitulation should then be agreed upon; and for that hour we anxiously waited.

At dark, we saw, from the upper windows of the house, Montmartre covered with the blazing watch-fires of the Silesian army, and which distinctly shewed the soldiers bivouacking around them.

Messrs. B—— and T—— came in to tea. I returned home, and remained till late at my window, gazing at the fires on Montmartre, enjoying a beautifully serene night, and the delightful emotions of satisfaction and hope resulting from this eventful day. Not a carriage or a person was to be heard in the streets, and the stillness

(more awful from its contrast with the preceding tumult) was only broken at intervals by the distant sounds of music in the allied camp.

Marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, arrived on the heights of Belleville a quarter before four in the morning. But the allies beginning the attack at a little after four, he had no time to make any dispositions.

The following is the statement he gave me of the total amount of the forces collected for the defence of the capital. His army and that of marshal Mortier, joined to the troops previously before Paris, under general Compens, amounted to between fifteen and sixteen thousand men, consisting of—cavalry, rather more than three thousand; infantry, thirteen thousand; artillery in the battle, eighty. To these may be added twelve thousand national guards, being all that had arms. Of the number of troops the allies had to oppose to him, he, as well as every one else, was totally ignorant when the battle began.

About six thousand troops bivouacked within the walls of Paris, near the barriers of the Faux-bourg St. Martin. They sallied forth at half-past six in the morning. The empress's dragoons going towards Belleville, and the Cossacks Français to Les Vertus. They came in again about twelve o'clock.

The cannonade and firing of musketry at the

Butte de St. Chaumont and the Pré St. Gervais, was terrible from eight till half-past nine o'clock.

The Prussian guards halted on the night of the 29th at Villeparisis. At nine o'clock this morning, intelligence was brought them that the allies had been repulsed near Paris. The Prussians instantly set forward, and ran nearly the whole way to Pantin. Having reposed there a few minutes, they again advanced with the utmost rapidity, and were soon exposed to so destructive a fire from the artillery, at open batteries, on the heights of Belleville and the Butte St. Chaumont, that nearly two thousand were left dead on the field. This, a Prussian officer told me, was the first time of their going into action during the campaign.

Colonel Paixhans, of the artillery, commanded the batteries at Belleville and the Butte St. Chaumont. The cannon of the former were served by raw conscripts, and not, as was generally believed, by the Polytechnic scholars. The allies advanced by the road from Pantin, and forming under the shelter of some houses, rushed forward. When a certain number had become exposed to the fire of the French batteries, these were opened upon them with most destructive effect; many were swept down, and the rest retired behind the houses, where they formed again, and again advanced. The battery of the Butte St. Chaumont, which was more

considerable, and worked by the artillerymen of the navy, opened a tremendous fire, and threw them into confusion. The French cavalry and infantry then charged and drove them back towards Pantin, where they remained inactive for some time. About one o'clock, colonel Paixhans saw three immense columns of troops,—one crossing the plain St. Denis from Aubervilliers towards Clichy; a second moving slowly along the high road from Pantin; a third advancing by the Bois de Romainville, apparently with the intention of turning his batteries; but of this he was under no apprehension, knowing the wood was full of French sharp-shooters. Some time afterwards, to his utter astonishment, and without having heard a shot fired, he found the sharp-shooters of the allies so close upon him, that he was obliged to abandon his cannon, and retreat into Paris, where, on arriving, he observed with surprise, those troops reposing on the boulevards on whose defence of the Bois de Romainville he had calculated. General Michel, of the imperial guard, told M—— that he headed the troops which drove the allies back to Pantin. One of the houses behind which the allies formed, was almost knocked to pieces by the French balls, though it was large and of three stories. From the third mile-stone to the entrance of Pantin, all the trees on each side of the road were shattered by cannon-balls and pierced by bullets; in one

tree I counted the marks of seventeen, and the smallest number was five: several of these musket-bullets I saw sticking in the trees on the 17th of April. The master of the plaster kiln at the foot of the Butte St. Chaumont told me that thirty-four cannons were dragged up the steepest part of that hill on the 29th, and that there were four pieces at the base: these latter were spiked and abandoned, at two o'clock on the 30th. M. Casimir de Mortemart,* orderly officer to the emperor, informed me that he was at the Maison-rouge, a little villa at the north-east base of Montmartre, with Joseph and Jerome Buonaparte, neither of whom stirred out, nor had the sun-blinds opened, until half-past one o'clock, when, accompanied by their suite, consisting of about thirty persons, they descended to the outer boulevards, and went round by the walls to the Bois de Boulogne. M. de Mortemart followed, supposing they were going to another post, but on their taking the road to St. Cloud, he quitted them and returned home. The minister of war, the duke of Feltre, had been with them in the course of the morning.

M. Edouard Hocquart, an officer in the national guard, told me he was at Montmartre, and on horseback. Joseph Buonaparte arrived there at seven in the morning, and went to La Maison-

* Now duke de Mortemart.

rouge, out of which he never stirred until he ran away. He sent M. E. Hocquart about eight o'clock to the dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, to know the state of the battle. The former was then between the basin of the Canal de l'Ourque and the Bourget road, having on his right the canal and a battery of cannon, which was keeping up a heavy fire. The duke said he was in a good position. He then went to Marmont, whom he found on the heights near Montreuil, with some squadrons of cuirassiers with him. Marmont said his positions were beginning to be forced, that the allies were masters of the Bois de Romainville, shewed him the distant country which was blackened by their advancing troops, and told him to inform the king that he must send him some reinforcements, as he could not hold out. M. Hocquart said, " It is so long since you have seen me, that probably you do not remember me: I am the grandson of madame Pourat." Marmont took him by the hand, saying, " Ah, mon ami! nous nous renouvelons connaissance dans un f—— moment." Hocquart returned to the king, and reported what Marmont had said. Joseph exclaimed, " Des renforts, où veut-il que je les trouve." This was about half-past one; a few minutes after, Joseph asked him if his horse was a good one; on his replying in the affirmative, he said, " then follow me;" and he went to Blois by Versailles and Rambouillet.

Marshal Marmont sent, about two o'clock, to general Compens, who commanded the advanced guard between La Villette and Pantin, ordering him to send a trumpet (flag of truce) to propose a capitulation. Four were despatched; one only, M. Quelin, chef-d'escadron, and his aide-de-camp, arrived at the allies' head-quarters; his sword was taken from him by those who took him. On the armistice being proposed, the emperor of Russia replied it was not his wish to do any injury to the city of Paris, as it was not the French nation on whom he made war, but the emperor, Napoleon: the king of Prussia added, not even against him, but his ambition. The emperor said, it was with great concern he had that morning seen several columns of national guards march out of Paris; but concluded with assuring him, that not a soldier of his should enter the city in a hostile manner. Quelin made an apology to the emperor for appearing before him without his sword, stating the manner it was taken; but although Alexander insisted it should be found and delivered to him, yet he never recovered it. The sovereigns sent two officers back with M. Quelin, to agree upon the capitulation, which was drawn up at five o'clock, at La Chapelle, in the second house to the left on going out of the barrier St. Denis; it is the angle of the street. The

following inscription was painted on the front in the succeeding May: —

"Au Petit
Jardinet
L'an 1814
Ici le 30 Mars (Jour
à jamais prospère)
Pour le bonheur
de Notre Nation
La plus Sage
Capitulation
Aux Français
Rendit un Pere
Thourout
Md. de Vins
Traiteur."

General Savery, duke of Rovigo, minister of police, came on horseback, about noon, to the barrier de l'Etoile, and urged the national guard to defend it, as the emperor was coming to the relief of Paris. He ordered the trees on each side of the road to be cut down, so as to fall across the way and obstruct it. This was executed on the first tree at the north side of the road; that which corresponded on the south was only half cut through; and at the fifty-second tree, or about three hundred yards down the road, three trees were felled on each side. At about half-past three, the allies appeared on the road near the entrance to the Bois de Boulogne.

The allies arrived at Neuilly at four o'clock, but were prevented from passing the bridge that evening, by the resistance which was made by about forty grenadiers of the imperial guard, posted on the left side of the river. I afterwards saw their bullets sticking in the trees by the side of the road, and the marks of the musket balls of the allies on the opposite side of the bridge.

The duke of Mortemart told me he was on Montmartre at twelve o'clock, when there were not any troops of the line, and only a few national guards, pompiers, and *maimed* invalids, near two pieces of artillery (the only ones he saw), placed at the western extremity of the summit. In the plain of St. Denis were some squadrons of cavalry, each consisting of one hundred and thirty men. At the extremity of La Villette, where the canal crosses the road, was a battery of cannon.

Sixty national guards were posted in Mousseaux gardens. At two o'clock there were not more than two hundred national guards at Montmartre, of which C——'s eldest son was one. The allies advanced in regular platoons.

There were only eight pieces of artillery (six cannon and two howitzers) on Montmartre, though there were more than one hundred in the Champ de Mars, which were not used. A battery of twenty-eight cannons was formed by order of general Abbeville, in the Vincennes road, near the entrance of the wood. It was commanded by

major Evain, of the artillery; pointed by the artillerymen of the old imperial guard; and worked by the Polytechnic scholars (élèves de l'Ecole Polytecnique), who, to the number of two hundred and seventy, were posted there. This battery was attacked at eleven o'clock by the cavalry of the allies; and not being protected either by cavalry or infantry, those who were defending it were forced to fly. Their muskets having been taken from them to give to the national guard, they were only armed with short swords. Their artillery and tumbrils were drawn by post horses, and by those used for towing barges up the Seine, and conducted by drivers as unaccustomed to the service as the horses were to the noise of artillery, or the rumbling of tumbrils. The horses took fright; most of the cannon and tumbrils were overturned; and thus dragged, soon broken. General confusion ensued; six of the pieces were taken by the allies; seven of the scholars were taken prisoners, forty wounded, and their two drummers killed by pistol-shots, of which some thousands were fired by the two regiments of Hulans, with whom they were engaged and confusedly mixed. The rest of the cannon were abandoned, and the scholars retired under the protection of two batteries, near the barrier du Trône, which immediately opened a fire of grape-shot; and, at the same time, a company of cuirassiers charging the allies, enabled the Poly-

technic scholars to retake their pieces, and bring them close to the barrier, where, uniting them with those already there, they continued to fire grape-shot the rest of the day. They remained ignorant of the capitulation until ten at night, and then first learned it by the order brought for their return to the school. Orders came in the night for them to march to Fontainebleau; but only one hundred obeyed: two hundred and thirty escaped, and remained with their friends in Paris.

At Fontainebleau a proposal was made to incorporate them with the troops of the line, which M. Durivau, inspector of their studies, prevented by producing the imperial decree, that in case of being obliged to quit Paris, they were to repair, as well as the persons who composed the different officers of government, to Rennes in Brittany. He then marched them to Orleans, and thus saved them.

During the battle, sixty of them remained at the school waiting for orders. These had returned on the evening of the 29th, having been on duty from the early part of Monday morning.

It was reported currently at Paris, that the guns which these young men worked were obliged to cease firing for more than two hours from want of ammunition. This was not true; but some of the tumbrils were furnished with cartridges (gargousses) of a calibre too large for the pieces.

" But this," according to M. Antoine Lebrun and M. de Montferrand, who furnished me with all the information relative to their fellow-students, " was attributable to the precipitation with which the tumbrils were loaded."

M. Francais was the only scholar who was killed: he lingered seven months with the wounds he received on that day.

A short time after his return, Louis XVIII. yielding to public opinion, conferred some crosses of the legend of honour on these young gentlemen, whose conduct on this day was the subject of general admiration; but instead of giving one to the unfortunate M. Francais, and to those who were engaged on the Vincennes road, they were bestowed on those who remained at the school the whole of the day.

Comte Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, chef of the second legion of the national guard, arrived on horseback, with orders to Count Alexander de Laborde, at four in the morning. In the middle of the day, being at the Barrière de Clichy, he ordered those of the national guard who chose, to go and reconnoitre without the barriers in the plain of St. Denis: Count Alexander de Laborde himself went out with these volunteers, who *really* were volunteers.

But Regnaud, who had been swaggering and blustering the whole morning, said he could not accompany them, as he must obey the orders of

the minister, and follow the government. He then set off, pursued by the hootings of the national guard. His conduct was so severely criticised by the public, that he read a justification of it at the Institute, of which he was a member: this, however, only made bad worse, and gave consistency to what was before only a surmise.

About half-past two o'clock, or a quarter before three, G—— saw a considerable body of French cavalry galloping into Paris by the Rue Rochechouart, to all appearance escaping from the field of battle; and at three, V—— saw artillery brought in at the barrier Rochechouart; at four, a confused flight of cavalry came down the street. In the evening, two conscript sentinels were posted near the barrier to prevent the inhabitants from approaching it and holding communication with the allies.

At a quarter after three, Miss J—— M—— observed from her window, in the Rue Charonne, the French cavalry gallop down the Butte St. Chaumont, which they had occupied all the morning, when they were instantly replaced by those of the allies, who formed into much closer ranks. A few minutes after, she saw the national guard quit the burial-ground of Père de la Chaise, from which they had been firing through loop-holes in the wall. But there had been a complete route of cavalry down the Rue de Charonne, about a quarter of an hour before, which was

preceded by artillery that came from La Villette, and had been obliged to make the circuit of the walls, not having found it possible to effect an entrance at any other barrier. At night she saw the allies' cavalry round the bivouac fires on the Butte St. Chaumont.

At four o'clock, the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg, had advanced to the Butte St. Chaumont.

The south side of the foot of Menil-montant was occupied by the allies at four o'clock. Lefevre, the restaurateur, told me that some French dragoons were skulking in his court-yard the whole of the day, instead of joining the battle. The firing did not entirely cease at the extremities of the engaged line until past six in the evening.

The allies were twice repulsed at Belleville, the French being protected by garden-walls. A Russian colonel, attached to prince Schwartzenberg's staff, said that the loss of the allies was six thousand. A Russian account of the battle states, that the Russians lost one hundred officers and seven thousand rank and file.

The loss of the French was about three thousand troops of the line, and sixty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded of the national guards:* among the killed was Fitzjames, the

* As stated to the writer by count Alexander de Laborde.

celebrated ventriloquist, who kept a coffee-house in the Palais Royal, and who was killed at the foot of Montmartre.

The Prussian guards sustained a very great loss in the battle. Fifty-seven Prussian officers were wounded or killed.

About half-past one o'clock, news was brought to the Luxemburg Palace that the king of Prussia and his staff were taken prisoners. This was the signal agreed upon for the wife of Joseph Buonaparte to fly. She immediately entered her carriage and set off for Blois.

M. Frederic Cuvier, brother of the celebrated comparative anatomist, as national guard, was on duty at the barrier des Gobelins, from the 28th at night, until the 31st in the morning. During the battle, officers of the line came round to the barriers, informing those who were there that the emperor was at the battle. At five in the afternoon, they came and said the enemy were repulsed, and the king of Prussia taken prisoner. But at seven in the evening, the evacuation of Paris began, and continued, without intermission, the whole night. The men appeared greatly dejected; and those whom Cuvier questioned, though ignorant of the force of the allies, yet asserted they had been sold to them.

At the prefecture of police, the architects attached to that establishment were in waiting by order of the prefect, lest accidents should even-

tually happen to the city from the explosion of shells. At ten o'clock in the morning, the following appeal to the passions of the people was laid on the desks of the different offices of the prefecture, and police-officers were sent into the streets to distribute them; which they had scarcely begun to do when an order came to recall them. They were even taken from the persons who had them, and burned, together with several official papers from the bureau of the first division. Though this appeal was reprinted in one of the newspapers a few days after, yet very few persons had seen the original. I never saw but one. It is printed on both sides of a duodecimo size:—

"Nous laisserons-nous piller! Nous laisserons-nous brûler!

"Tandis que l'empereur arrive sur les derrières de l'ennemi, 25 à 30,000 hommes, conduits par un partisan audacieux, osent menacer nos barrières. En imposeront-ils à 500,000 citoyens qui peuvent les exterminer! Ce parti ne l'ignore point, ses forces ne lui suffisaient pas pour se maintenir dans Paris. Il ne veut faire qu'un coup de main. Comme il n'aurait que peu de jours à rester parmi nous, il se hâterait de nous piller, de se gorger d'or et de butin; et quand une armée victorieuse le forcerait à fuir de la capitale, il n'en sortirait qu'à la lueur des flammes qu'il aurait allumées.

"Non! nous ne nous laisserons pas piller!

nous ne nous laisserons pas brûler! Defendons nos biens, nos femmes, nos enfans, et laissons le tems à notre brave armée d'arriver pour anéantir sous nos mûrs les barbares qui venaient les renverser! Ayons la ferme volonté de les vaincre, et ils ne nous attaquerons pas! Notre capitale serait le tombeau d'une armée qui voudrait en forcer les portes. Nous avons en face de l'ennemi une armée considérable; elle est commandée par des chefs habiles et intrepides; il ne s'agit que de les seconder.

" Nous avons des canons, des baïonettes, des piques du fer. Nos fauxbourgs, nos rues, nos maisons, tout peut servir à notre défense. Etablissons, s'il faut, des barricades; faisons sortir nos voitures et tout ce qui peut obstruer les passages; crénelons nos murailles, creusons des fossés, montons à tous nos étages les pavés des rues, et l'ennemi reculera d'épouvante.

" Qu'on se figure une armée essayant de traverser un de nos fauxbourgs au milieu de tels obstacles, à travers le feu croisé de la mousqueterie qui partirait de toutes les maisons, des pierres, des poutres qu'on jeterait de toutes les croisées! Cette armée serait detruite avant d'arriver au centre de Paris. Mais non! Le spectacle des apprêts d'une telle défense le forcerait de renoncer à ses vains projets, et elle s'éloignerait à la hâte pour ne pas se trouver entre l'armée de Paris et l'armée de l'empereur."

Three of the enemy's spies were brought to the prefecture of police, from whence they were sent to the état-major.

A quantity of papers was burnt at one o'clock in the minister of war's court-yard, Rue de Lille, (now Bourbon).

The iron gates to the Palais Royal garden were locked the whole day; all the shops and lateral entrances were shut, as were also most of the other shops in Paris.

During the battle, the Boulevard des Italiens (now Coblentz) and the Café Tortoni were thronged with fashionable loungers of both sexes, sitting, as usual, on the chairs placed there, and appearing almost uninterested spectators of the number of wounded French and prisoners of the allies which were brought in. The wounded French officers were carried on mattresses. This astonishing instance of want of deep feeling was confirmed to me by many persons. A black flag was displayed on all the hospitals, that the cannon should not be directed against them. About two o'clock, a general cry of "Sauve qui peut" was heard on the boulevards from the Porte St. Martin to Les Italiens: this caused a general and confused flight, which spread, like the undulations of a wave, even beyond the Pont Neuf. In a short time, however, the panic subsided. This was confirmed to me by several persons who experienced it at different places, from the boulevards

to the other side of the river; but of the cause I could never obtain any satisfactory information. One story was, that two Austrians had dashed into Paris by the barrier St. Martin, and galloped to the boulevards, where they were killed. The other, that a Polish lancer, who was drunk, had galloped down the Fauxbourg Montmartre, as far as the boulevards, crying "Sauve qui peut," and that he was there shot.

During the whole of the day, several wounded French soldiers crawled into the streets of Paris, and there laid down to die. Favart saw one, who had moved as far as the Rue de l'Université, Fauxbourg St. Germain, and was there lying on the pavement: one of the by-standers asked him if he wished to be carried any where? All he requested was, to be allowed to die quietly, which he did a few minutes after. Several were supported by their comrades, and some even carried on their backs. Mrs. G—— saw many brought down the Rue Rochechouart in the afternoon.

At about four o'clock, the duke of Rovigo set off for Blois from the hotel of the minister of police, Quai Malaquais, and went up the Rue de St. Pères at full gallop, in a calèche, with his wife, followed by a second calèche, and escorted by about twenty gens d'armes d'élites.

Comte Alexander de Girardin arrived at Paris at three in the afternoon, announcing the emperor's speedy arrival, and exhorted the people to rise in

a mass. After seeking in vain le roi Joseph and the minister of war (who were on their way to Blois), he went to Talleyrand, then to his own house, and at midnight quitted Paris to return to Napoleon, whom he met at la Cour de France.

Comte Alexander de Laborde was without the walls at five o'clock, with several of the national guards; the gates of the palisades being fastened, they were obliged to assist each other to clamber over, the Cossacks and troops looking on, but not offering the smallest interruption.

The inhabitants of the remote parts of Paris remained ignorant of the capitulation all the evening. Miss M—— told me, that in the neighbourhood of the Rue de Charonne they were not acquainted with it when she retired to rest.

The king of Prussia's head-quarters this night were at the château of M. de Mezé, at Vertgalant, between Livry and Villeparisis, where he slept.

Marshal Marmont informed me, that Joseph Buonaparte, having sent him an order to capitulate when he should consider all defence useless, and perceiving a column of 25,000 fresh troops of the enemy advancing on his left, he sent four officers with flags of truce, to try to penetrate to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, at the extremity of Belleville, he was so closely pressed upon by the enemy, that eleven men were killed by the bayonet near his person. In this extremity,

and being cut off from assistance, he forced his way with forty men through the streets of Belleville. At this moment the officer who had succeeded in penetrating to the head-quarters of the allies, returned with the flag of truce, accompanied by two of their officers, and the capitulation was soon afterwards concluded. The duke also informed me, that the allies lost 10,000 men and the French 4000. He likewise said, the emperor of Russia told him that the allies had 210,000 men between Meaux and Paris, and that it was their belief that 50,000 French troops were assembled to defend the capital.*

Marmont further observed, that there never was a more foolish attack made than that of the allies, as they might have entered Paris on the side of the Bois de Boulogne without resistance.

The *Moniteur* of this day was a full sheet; but no notice was taken of the war or the army. Nearly four columns and a quarter were occupied by an article on the dramatic works of Denis, and three columns by a dissertation on the existence of Troy. The theatres announced as usual.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Favart saw a squadron of carbiniers near the Porte St. Martin, going to the battle; they met about fifty or sixty prisoners who had just been taken. The car-

* General Mufflin told me there were about 80,000 of the allies opposed to the French.

biniers, full of spirits, boasted to the by-standers that they would soon bring in more; but about half-past one o'clock, he saw them returning quite dispirited.

During the battle, the president and governors of the bank of France assembled at the bank, and ordered the copper-plates of their notes to be destroyed; and such was their consternation, that they were preparing to burn all the notes when the news of the capitulation arrived.

The colours and standards taken by the French in their different wars, and which decorated the Chapel of the Invalids, were, on the approach of the allies, taken down and packed up for the purpose of removal; but on the night of the capitulation, in consequence of an order left by the minister of war, these memorials of triumph over public virtue, over the faith of treaties, and over the rights of nations, were unpacked and burnt in one of the court-yards of the hospital. The sword and scarf of Frederic, king of Prussia, which were suspended from the centre of the arch leading from the nave to the dome of the chapel, were destroyed at the same time.

Towards evening, several ambulances came down the Rue Rochechouart full of wounded French, and one cart was laden with the slain.

In the evening of the 31st, about thirty wounded Russians, prisoners, who probably had been brought to the état-major, in the adjacent

Place Vendôme, laid themselves down under the arcades of the Rue Castiglione. General Scott lodged in the house, and an English medical man who was dining there dressed their wounds; the Misses Scott made lint, and the pavement was covered with straw: he left them about eleven o'clock. The next morning they were gone, but, as not one of them could speak French, it was not ascertained how they came there. The French were very humane to them.

31st. — A fine morning; Mr. T——, a fellow-détenu, called upon me at half-past six. We walked to the Barrière Montmartre, which we found shut, and proceeded thence to the Barrière des Martyres, which was open, with national guards posted at the entrance. Passing through, we found the allied army; and feeling ourselves under their protection, considered our detention of eleven years to be at length terminated.* Near the barrier, a Russian band of music was playing, and a group, composed of a few French of both sexes, and some soldiers of the allies, were quietly listening to it. Close to this, several horses, killed in the battle, were lying, upon which some of the listeners were seated. We walked up Montmartre: the streets were filled with Russian,

* The decree of the French republic, signed by the first Consul, Buonaparte, constituting all the English then in France prisoners of war, is dated 2 Prairial, an xi. (22d May, 1803); the number then detained was between nine hundred and a thousand.

Prussian, and German soldiery, forming part of the Silesian army, but mostly Russians; some sleeping, some bedecking themselves, others shaving their comrades or waxing their mustachios. Most of them had a sprig of box in their caps, and a piece of white linen bound round their left arms: the latter had been worn about three weeks, and was adopted to distinguish the allied army among themselves, as the variety of uniforms in the different corps had occasioned many fatal mistakes. A dead body, half stripped, was lying by the side of the old road, near the Poirier-sans-pareil, probably that of the last Frenchman killed yesterday on his flight into Paris. The vast old gypsum quarry, on the left of the road, was full of soldiers sleeping among piles of arms. The summit of the mountain was covered with troops, and on every part were the remains of watch-fires, made with vine-props, and surrounded with empty bottles. We were struck with the quiet manners of the soldiers, and the mild physiognomy of the Russians. No one paid the least attention to us, although we were the only persons who ventured so far among them. Never was any assemblage of men gazed on by me with greater interest. I felt indebted to them for my deliverance from captivity: they had revenged their country, and raised the continent of Europe from the degraded state to which it had been subjected for so many years. These troops, a few hours before, had been the

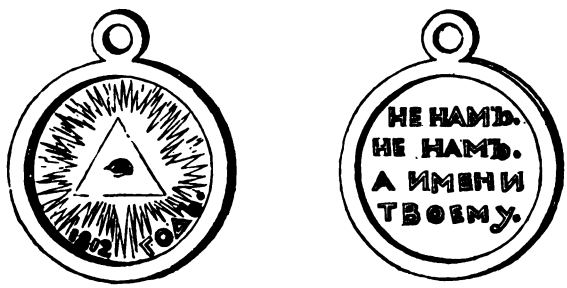
furious and terrible agents of destruction; but of this not the smallest vestige was now apparent in their manners, nor was there the least appearance of exultation from victory. Descending, on the north side of the mountain, we saw three or four dead soldiers in the field below the well, also some dead horses. About half a mile further in the plain was an open battery of artillery and a camp, forming the most picturesque assemblage of figures I ever beheld. The Russian cannon and carriages have inscriptions on them in Russian characters, and their colour, as well as that of the tumbrils, is bright green. The lids of the latter form angles of about 45 degrees with the sides. There were several cannon and tumbrils which had been taken from the French, with "Liberté, Egalité," on them: the gun-carriages and tumbrils of the French are lead colour; their roofs are flat segments of circles. So striking was the novelty of the scene, that even the most trifling and minute circumstances forcibly attracted my attention. We made acquaintance with a Russian officer of rank, who spoke excellent French; and who, when he knew that we were English prisoners, was most cordial, and affably communicative relative to the events of the campaign. He told us that "Napoleon* was moving upon

* General Mufflin told me, that on the 22d of March a French courier was taken by the Cossacks between Vitry le

St. Dizier, and that the corps of Witzingerode had been left to look after him; but that, if he attempted to return upon Paris, he would be received by Sacken's corps, which formed a reserve to guard the passage of the Marne, at Meaux. Nothing, however, was to be apprehended from the French army, which was almost destroyed by recent disasters." The quantity of artillery which had fallen into the hands of the

Français and Sezanne, bearing a letter from Napoleon to Marie-Louise, in his own hand-writing, but so badly written as to be nearly illegible. Towards the conclusion, the emperor said he intended to approach his fortresses, and that he was now moving towards St. Dizier; the latter word, of so much importance to decipher, was so badly written that they were several hours in making it out. The letter was, the same day, sent to Blucher at Nismes, who forwarded it to the empress with a letter in German, saying, that as she was the daughter of a *respectable* sovereign who was fighting in the same cause with him, he had sent it to her; and that, as he was in the rear of her husband's army, should other letters fall into his hands, she might rest assured they should be regularly forwarded. On the 24th, the head-quarters of Blucher's army was at Chalons; that of the grand army, with which the two sovereigns were, at Vitry le Français, having marched from Arcis-sur-Aube: the junction of those two armies, and the discovery that Napoleon was on his march to St. Dizier, led to the determination of proceeding immediately to Paris, which had been discussed on the foregoing day. The 25th, Blucher's army, at La Fère Champenoise, beat, cut to pieces, and made prisoners, the divisions of generals Pactod and Amey, and took such a quantity of ammunition, that it enabled general Mufflin to fill all the tumbrils of the Silesian army. On the 26th, Blucher's army arrived at Montmirail.

allies he described as immense; "but notwithstanding all, the war (he said) is not yet over;—we have just sent off troops after the army which has evacuated Paris." He wished us to believe that the whole glory of the campaign was due to the Russians, speaking of the Prussians only as interesting from their misfortunes. Of the French he spoke with the greatest contempt. He did not expect that the allied sovereigns would make their entry into Paris this day. The different orders with which he and the other officers were decorated having excited our attention, he explained them to us. One medal interested us highly; it was that given to every person who had been in the Moscow campaign: it is of silver, suspended by a sky-blue riband. On one side is a triangle in the midst of rays, and in the centre is the eye of Providence; beneath, the year 1812. On the other side, in Russian characters, is a motto, importing—"NOT UNTO US, O LORD! NOT UNTO US, BUT UNTO THY NAME BE THE GLORY." Literally it is—*Not us, not us, but in His name.* The following is a fac-simile.



We returned by the new road, under the wind-mills, along which artillery, pointed towards Paris, was ranged from one extremity to the other. These were dragged up yesterday evening, immediately on the allies obtaining possession of the hill. I was afterwards informed by baron Mufflin, quarter-master-general of the Silesian army, that the emperor of Russia had given orders that, if the capitulation was not ratified by midnight, Paris should be cannonaded; but upon Mufflin asking if he should "bien allumer la ville?" he replied, "No; it is only to frighten them into terms, by shewing that we are masters." As shells were not to be thrown into the city, no howitzers were planted, but fifty twelve-pounders were so placed as to command every part of Paris. Posterity will scarcely credit the fact of such a numerous invading army arriving within ten miles of Paris, while the inhabitants of that metropolis, up to the very moment of their appearance, were ignorant of the impending danger.

Bands of music were playing—officers were going the rounds: one seemed of very high rank, from the general demeanour towards him; another general (a Russian) in full uniform, on horseback, accompanied by an aide-de-camp, we saluted as he passed, and said we were English; this the aide-de-camp translated, as the officer did not understand French. He instantly gave us his hand in the most polite and hearty manner.

We breakfasted at Mr. L——'s, and then went with him, Miss L——, Mademoiselle de A——, and Mr. D——, to the garden of the Tuilleries, but found the gates locked. Walked on to the Place Louis XV — it was a quarter past ten o'clock — a few national guards were there, and about a hundred persons, of whom ten or twelve, at most, had white cockades in their hats. M. du Dresnay,* M. Guerry de Maubreuil, and M. de Vauvineux, were of the number. We inquired of a poor-looking elderly man, who, as well as several others, had only a bit of white rag in his hat in lieu of a cockade, what all this meant? He told us that Louis XVIII. had just been proclaimed, but by whom he did not know. Some of those who had assumed the cockade had the air of saying: "This have we done; will any of you follow our example, or dare to prevent us?" but upon a trifling dispute occurring at a few paces from us, most of those who had white

* M. du Dresnay is a native of Brittany; when very young, he emigrated with his father to England. He afterwards told me, that the preceding evening he agreed with M. de Maubreuil to meet early in the morning, and attempt a royalist movement. They went on the Place Louis XV at seven in the morning, and at eight o'clock put up a white cockade, promising to stand by each other, and never to take it out. M. du Dresnay was accosted by M. de Choisseul Praslin, colonel of the national guard, and desired to take out his white cockade, but the former refused, saying, as now every one could speak his opinion — this was his.

cockades, or bits torn from their pocket-handkerchiefs, in their hats, hastily took them out. M. de Choisseul Praslin, in his uniform of the national guards, drew one gentleman, who had a white cockade, from the crowd, and appeared as if trying to dissuade him from espousing the Bourbon cause, but without success. We left the place, and just as we reached that end of the Rue Royale next the boulevards, we saw M. Finguerlin, the banker, and four other gentlemen, with white cockades, on horseback, ride into the mairie of the first arrondissement in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, followed by about fifty persons on foot. They remained there about five minutes, and, on coming out, waved their hats and shouted, "Vive le roi! Vive Louis XVIII! Vivent les Bourbons! A bas le tyran!" This was echoed by the people and by the national guard posted there, some of whom at the same time tore the tri-coloured pennon from their pikes, and trod it under foot. At this moment a band on foot appeared: at its head I saw M. Edouard (now duke) de Fitzjames, in the uniform of the national guard, M. Thibaut de Montmorency, M. Gillet, and M. de Mortfontaine, all with white cockades, vociferating, "Vive le roi! Vive Louis XVIII! Vivent les Bourbons!" They proceeded up the boulevard, followed by a few of the rabble, shouting. We also saw M. Louis de Chateaubriand, on horseback, courageously

galloping about alone, crying, " Vive le roi!" This young gentleman's father, the brother to the author, was guillotined during the revolution. Another group, composed of three gentlemen, one of them with a brace of horse-pistols in his belt, rode about crying, " Vive le roi!" and joined the first party, which was now increased to about a dozen persons, and had made two standards by fastening a white pocket-handkerchief to a walking-stick. Among them was M. Archambaud Perigord, brother of Talleyrand, and M. de Maubreuil, who had divested himself of his cross of the legion of honour, and tied it to his horse's tail. They continued parading the boulevards as far as the Rue Montmartre, followed by a few persons on foot, shouting, " Vive le roi! Vivent les Bourbons! A bas le tyran!" A few English bludgeonmen would have suppressed this apparently futile revolt. Several of the bystanders appeared not to understand what was meant, or who the Bourbons were; others beheld it with indifference, some with the fears of Buonaparte's revenge, and many with contempt. Indeed it really was a pitiful display; for so little support did the partisans of royalty receive from the surrounding multitude, that even the principal performers appeared to have much difficulty in exciting themselves to continue their hazardous undertaking. No one, however, molested them, nor did I hear a single cry of Vive

l'empereur! or in favour of liberty. About half a dozen of the allied officers came in pairs, or with a single soldier as an orderly, and rode along the boulevards. By twelve o'clock the boulevards were crowded with people of every class, all appearing in high spirits, and anxious only for the new show that was expected. The number of white cockades slowly increased; many of them were only bits torn from white handkerchiefs, and some even of paper; for, as none of the shops were open, riband could not be procured.

Ten minutes after twelve, Veyrat, in his uniform of inspector-general of the police, on a cream-coloured charger, and accompanied by the only two gens d'armes I saw during the day, passed along the boulevards without noticing the white cockades, or the Bourbon cavalcade, consisting of sixteen or eighteen persons, and which had continued riding up and down until the trumpets of the allies were heard, when it preceded the triumphal entry of the conquering army, who reached the Boulevard des Italiens at twenty minutes after twelve. It was opened by a band of trumpeters, succeeded by cavalry, fifteen abreast. The Russian officers spoke in the mildest manner to the spectators, requesting them to make way, as there was no line of troops to keep it, and announced that the emperor Alexander was on a white horse, and would come

after the third regiment. A most gorgeous assemblage then appeared, composed of the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, prince Schwartzenberg, the hetman Platoff, general Mufflin, lord Cathcart, lord Burghersh, sir Charles Stewart,* and the numerous staff of the victorious armies, on the finest horses, and in the most splendid uniforms. The emperor was in green, with gold epaulets; in his hat was a bunch of pendant white feathers, similar to those of a cock's tail: he smiled and bowed very courteously. The king of Prussia, who looked grave, was in blue, with silver epaulets, and rode on the left of the emperor. Prince Schwartzenberg was on the right. Lord Cathcart, in scarlet regimentals, his low, flat cocked-hat forming a striking contrast to all the others. Sir Charles Stewart was covered with orders, and conspicuous by his fantastic dress, evidently composed of what he deemed every army's best. As soon as the conquerors appeared, the people began to shout, "Vivent les alliés! Vivent nos libérateurs! A bas le tyran! Vivent les Bourbons!" The officers received, in the most courteous manner, the salutations, or rather cajoling supplications, which all classes, and the fair sex in particular, poured upon them. One of the Russians, smiling, said, "Vous voyez que nous ne mangeons pas

* Now marquess of Londonderry.

des hommes," alluding to the articles in the French newspapers. When the sovereigns arrived, the acclamations redoubled; but to the occasional cries for the restoration of the Bourbons, Alexander made no answer, and appeared to take no notice, though in his manner he was highly gracious. The officers around him repeatedly cried out, "Vive la paix!" To the shout of "Vivent nos libérateurs!" one of them replied, "Nous espérons l'être." This magnificent pageant far surpassed any idea I had formed of military pomp, and lasted, with one short interval, until ten minutes after four o'clock. The cavalry were fifteen abreast, the artillery five, and the infantry thirty. There probably passed along the boulevards 45,000 troops: I did not hear any conjecture that there were more than 50,000 or less than 35,000. All the men were remarkably clean, healthy, and well clothed: their physiognomies strongly indicated the countries of which they were natives. A great variety of form was displayed in the helmets of the cavalry, some of which nearly approached the antique in beauty and in shape. The bands of music were very fine. The precision with which the infantry marched was universally admired: most of them wore a piece of white linen round their left arm, and a sprig of box or laurel in their caps. A considerable number of the Russians had the medal of the campaign of 1812, and there

were few of the officers who were not decorated with more than one order. This splendid procession was closed by horses, led by dirty livery-servants, and a considerable number of clumsy, dirty travelling carriages, mostly empty, though in some there were a few officers of distinction, either sick or wounded. The people, astonished at the prodigious number of troops, repeatedly exclaimed, "Oh, how we have been deceived!" Just below the Madelène, the grand duke Constantine, brother to the emperor of Russia, quitted the procession, and placed himself by the side of the road, to inspect the troops as they continued their march. M. de St. Blancard Gontaut, and a few others of the ancien régime, were standing near him, with whom he entered into conversation, affably naming the different regiments as they passed. In one of the Russian corps he remarked that there were many "Mohammedans," and mentioned the province whence they came, but which I could not hear. Of another he said, "Those are the men who fought so desperately at Pantin, and were very near forcing the barrier of Paris." Of another, "There is the regiment you were told was cut in pieces." This was succeeded by one which the French bulletins announced to have been annihilated. "Now," said he, in a sarcastic manner, "men who were killed never return; and yet there they are. Look at the fine appearance of these men,

who have bivouacked for these six weeks." He stopped one of the officers as he passed, and, presenting him to the bystanders, said, "There is the hero who beat Vandamme." The officer bowed and blushed. This condescension encouraged one of the common people to ask him if it was true that Vandamme was sent to Siberia? He replied, "No; he is at Moscow." Another asked him if Moreau was really dead? He replied, "Does any one doubt it?" As the people crowded forward, he very civilly requested them to get out of the way of the horses, and not to push one another; then, seeing some men place themselves before a woman, he told them he thought the French were more gallant. The rabble, who were unaccustomed to this kind of treatment, were enchanted with it, and vented the most bitter execrations on the government for deceiving them in every circumstance relative to the allies. As the regiments passed, he stopped several of the officers, to shake hands with them: they at the same time kissed a gold medal of the emperor which hung at his breast. He smiled and nodded to several of the common soldiers, crying, "Brave! brave!" They returned a most risible grimace, expressive of their delight at the distinction shewn them. M. Sosthenes de Rochefoucault rode up to him, and spoke for a few moments. The duke received what he said with evident coldness and indifference; and M. de

Rochefoucault rode away, much hurt. He afterwards told me, that on the mob, at his instigation, fixing the cords about the statue of Napoleon, on the column in the Place Vendôme, he approached the duke Constantine, and informing him what he had done, requested a guard, to prevent any mischief that might ensue. The duke received him very coldly; and answered, that not having received any orders, he could not grant what he asked. The grand duke paid the greatest attention to minutiæ of uniform: a sword-knot untied, the sack of corn which the horse-soldiers carried behind them hanging a few inches too low, or the smallest derangement in any part of their accoutrements, was instantly perceived by him, and the neglect noticed. When his own regiment of cuirassiers came up, he put himself at its head and went forward, joining his brother, who, with the king of Prussia and the generals-in-chief, were on the north side of the road in the Champs Elysées, near the Elysée Napoleon, seeing the army defile off. The grand duke Constantine is tall, stout, well made, with a fair complexion; his profile is scarcely human, his nose that of a baboon; he is near-sighted, contracting his eyes when looking attentively, which are covered with uncommonly large, light, bushy eyebrows; his voice is hoarse and husky; he has a rough, soldier-like manner, and is sarcastic, yet affable.

M. de St. Blancard Gontaut gave me a bit of white riband, which I put in my hat, not with any intention of espousing the cause of *legitimacy* or that of the Bourbons, but as a symbol of revolt against the despotism of Buonaparte.

The procession having closed, I walked on to the Place Louis XV, and there met the sovereigns, surrounded by the generals-in-chief and their staff, all on horseback, returning from the Champs Elysées. The emperor of Russia was giving his hand in the most unreserved manner to the shouting populace, who, unrestrained, pressed around him. The emperor then went to the Hôtel de l'Infantado, at the corner of the Rue St. Florentin, the residence of M. de Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, and there established his quarters; the king of Prussia's were at Eugène Beauharnois, formerly Hôtel de Villeroi, Rue de Lille, now Rue de Bourbon, No. 82. The street was suddenly crowded by officers and cavalry, all of whom took the greatest care not to hurt those persons who unexpectedly became intermingled with them. Having with some difficulty extricated myself from the horses, I went along the Rue de Rivoli, and arriving at the Rue Castiglione, saw a man mounted on the acroterion of the column, in the Place Vendôme, attempting, with a large hammer, to break the colossal statue of Buonaparte off at the ancles. The little Victory which it held in the left hand

had already been thrown down, as this work was begun about three o'clock. A ladder, placed in the gallery above the capital, gave access to the statue, round the neck of which a rope was fastened, reaching to the ground. After the man had continued hammering for some time, the mob below made some ineffectual efforts to pull it down. Two men again attacked with hammers the ancles of the statue: while they were thus employed, a fellow mounted on its shoulders, sat upon the head, amused himself with pulling the jackdaws' nests out of the crown of laurel, and throwing them to the mob below; then getting forward, committed an insult of the most offensive and indecorous nature upon the face of the august Napoleon;* and remounting on the head, he waved a white handkerchief, and cried, "Vive le roi!" These feats were encouraged by the shouts and clapping of the surrounding multitude. Another rope was brought and fixed

* At this time the following inscription was on the pedestal of the column: it was removed the 25th January, 1816:—

"NEAPOLIO. IMP. AVG.
MONVMENTVM. BELLI. GERMANICI.
ANNO. MDCCCV.
TRIMESTRI. SPATIO. DVCTV. SVO. PROFLIGATI.
EX. AERI. CAPTI.
GLORIAE. EXERCITVS. MAXIMI. DICAVIT."

Among the pieces of *captured brass*, above thirty culverins, of the finest cinque-cente work, that were preserved in the arsenal at Vienna, were melted to enter into the composition of

to the statue; to the lower extremities of the ropes several others were fastened to facilitate the united efforts of the mob, who, after making several vain attempts to overthrow the statue, desisted at night-fall. I then approached the column; the keeper, who was within the iron railing which surrounds it, told me that ("on dit") all this was doing by order of the emperor of Russia. A large pitcher of wine was on the steps, glasses of which a man was offering with great civility. A sans-culotte, after drinking, said—"See what it is to be treated by gens comme il faut; they provide glasses, while that canaille, who are now kicked out, suffered us to drink as we could." The general belief was, that this attempt to pull down the statue of Napoleon was made by order of the allies: no one appeared to feel any indignation, and most certainly the greater number of those assembled were pleased. M. de Maubreuil was the person

this monument. M. Gerard, one of the twenty-six sculptors employed in making the clay models for the bas-reliefs which cover it, assured me that every one of these ancient culverins was better worth preserving as a work of art than the whole of the column. They were adorned with battles, trophies, and rich armorial bearings of the finest chiseling; and yet Denon, who, as sole director of the execution of the column, might have saved them, or prevented their being melted, passes for a man of taste! The statue of Napoleon, ten feet seven inches English in height, in an ancient Etruscan dress, was the work of Chaudet.

who excited the mob to the deed, although M. Sosthenes de Rochefoucault arrogated to himself the merit of it: he did, however, distribute money, as well as M. de Maubreuil. While this was going forward, a few gentlemen in company with a group of ladies, M. Leopold de Talmont, aide-de-camp of the minister of war, and another gentleman and two ladies, in a second group, were standing in the Rue Castiglione, near the Rue St. Honoré, with white cockades in their hats. Each party had a printed address in favour of the king, which they read aloud by turns, at an interval of a few minutes; and at the conclusion of every reading attempted to raise a shout, by crying "Vive le roi! Vivent les Bourbons!" in which the by-standers but feebly joined. However, not even the smallest symptom of opposition was evinced.

The following is a copy of the address:—

"AUX HABITANS DE PARIS.

"Habitans de Paris!—L'heure de votre délivrance est arrivée! vos oppresseurs sont pour toujours dans l'impuissance de vous nuire:

"VOTRE VILLE EST SAUVÉE!

"Rendez grâces à la Providence! adressez en suite d'éclatans témoignages de votre reconnoissance aux illustres monarques et à leurs braves armées, si lâchement calomniées; c'est à eux que

vous devrez la paix, le repos, et la prospérité dont vous futes privées si long-temps.

" Qu'un sentiment, étouffé depuis tant d'années, s'échappe, avec les cris mille fois répétés de Vive le roi! Vive Louis XVIII! Vivent nos généreux libérateurs!

" Que l'union la plus touchante et l'ordre le plus parfait régnent parmi nous, et que les têtes couronnées qui vont honorer vos murs de leur présence, reçûes comme vos sauveurs, reconnaissent que les Français, et surtout les Parisiens, ont toujours conservé, au fond de leur âme, le respect des lois et l'amour de la monarchie."

" *Paris*, 31 *Mars*, 1814."

One of these gentlemen came up to me, and, looking at my bit of white riband, said—" Sir, I suppose you know that there is to be a meeting of those persons who are determined to support that noble cause, at No. 45, Rue Fauxbourg St. Honoré, and where we hope that you will attend." In the mean time the officers of the allied army were riding about, some apparently in search of lodgings, others to gratify their curiosity; some had a few soldiers in their suite, but all took the greatest care not to incommode the people, going at a foot-pace, and requesting leave to pass in the most courteous manner. One of them observing my white riband, bowed and exclaimed—" Ah, la belle décoration!" All these officers had a

white piece of linen round their left arms: this symbol misled several persons in the course of the day with regard to its object and intent. I heard M. Leopold de Talmont ask his companion, if he was sure that this white scarf signified attachment to the Bourbon cause? observing at the same time, that he began to entertain some doubts about it. The shops in the Rue St. Honoré were shut, from fear of pillage; but there was not the smallest disturbance of any kind, although the streets were thronged with people of all classes, and also with the allied officers. A very small number of copies of the following Notice were stuck up—the only official publication of the capitulation, the news of which did not penetrate into several parts of the Fauxbourg St. Jacques until the middle of the day:—

" PREFECTURE DE POLICE.

" *Paris, le* 31 *Mars*, 1814.

" Citoyens de Paris!—Les événemens de la guerre ont amené à vos portes les armées des puissances coalisées.

" Leur nombre et leurs forces n'ont pas permis à nos troupes de continuer la défense de la capitale.

" Le maréchal qui la commandait a dû faire une capitulation: il l'a fait fort honorable.

" Une plus longue résistance eût compromis la sûreté des personnes et des propriétés.

" Elle est aujourd'hui garantie par cette capitulation, et par la promesse de sa majesté l'empereur Alexandre, qui a donné ce matin au corp municipal les assurances les plus positives de sa protection et de sa bienveillance pour les habitans de cette capitale.

" Votre garde nationale demeure chargée de protéger vos personnes et vos propriétés.

" Restez donc calmes et tranquilles dans ce grand événement, et montrez dans cette occasion le bon esprit qui vous a toujours signalés.

(Signé) " LE BARON PASQUIER,
" *Préfet de Police.*

" LE BARON CHABROL,
" *Préfet du Département de la Seine.*"

After dining I walked in the Palais Royal; all the shops were shut, to protect the property, except Mothet's, the glover's, which was crowded with officers making purchases. The coffee-houses were all open, excepting Lemblin's, and thronged with officers of the allied armies (mostly Russians), national guards, and other citizens of Paris, among whom the greatest harmony and conviviality reigned: the war seemed to be forgotten, and every person appeared only emulous which should make the most clamour. I went to the Café de la Rotonde, where the greatest numbers were assembled. I found captain Baker and his wife, Americans of my acquaintance, drinking

punch with some Russian officers, whose invitation to join them I accepted. One was a Cossack, covered with orders; the other was a general, named Macdonald, of Irish parents, but now in the service of Russia, a very friendly, agreeable man, speaking good French, but not a word of English. He advised me to lay aside my white riband, hinting, that the intentions of Alexander, with regard to that cause, were not positively known, and that whether the allies could hold Paris was extremely doubtful. We afterwards walked in the garden, and remarked that none of the more elegant cyprians made their appearance; but there was an inundation of grisettes, who expressed great discontent at the decorous manner in which the allies conducted themselves. Going out of the Palais Royal, I saw the emperor Alexander's Declaration, which had just been stuck up in the Rue du Lycée.

" DECLARATION.

" Les armées des puissances alliés ont occupé la capitale de la France. Les souverains alliés, accueillant le vœu de la nation Française,

" Ils déclarent:—

" Que si les conditions de la paix devoient renfermer de plus fortes garanties, lorsqu'il s'agissoit d'enchainer l'ambition de Buonaparte, elles doivent être plus favorables, lorsque, par un retour vers un gouvernement sage, la France elle-même

offrira l'assurance de ce repos. Les souverains proclament en conséquence, qu'ils ne traiteront plus avec Napoleon Buonaparte, ni avec aucun de sa famille; qu'ils respectent l'intégrité de l'ancienne France telle qu'elle a existée sous ses rois légitimes; ils peuvent même faire plus, parcequ'ils professent toujours le principe que, pour le bonheur de l'Europe, il faut que la France soit grande et forte.

" Qu'ils reconnoîtront et garantiront la constitution que la nation Française se donnera. Ils invitent, par conséquent, le senat à designer sur-le-champ un gouvernement provisoire qui puisse pourvoir aux besoins de l'administration, et préparer la constitution qui conviendra au peuple Français.

" Les intentions que je viens d'exprimer me sont communes avec toutes les puissances alliés.

(Signé) " ALEXANDRE.

" Par S. M. I. le secrétaire d'état,

" COMTE de NESSELRODE."

" *Paris*, 31 *Mars*, 1814, *trois heurs après-midi.*"

" Imprimerie de Michaux, Imprimeur du Roi."

Went to the Café des Arts, and from thence, at about half-past ten, with Favart and Gautherot the painters, walked across the Place Carousel, which was covered with baggage-waggons; the horses were not unharnessed, but the drivers were fast asleep under them; and such was the state of

security they apparently felt, that not a sentinel was to be seen in all the place. Along the quai of the Louvre were cavalry sleeping in the same state of incautious and presumed security. The barracks of the Quai Buonaparte were filled with Russian cavalry and infantry. Under the walls of the quai, on the banks of the river, a considerable body of Russian soldiers were bivouacking; round the blazing fires many were sleeping—some washing their linen, others cooking. Several, entirely naked, were cleansing themselves, some of whom were occupied in the following curious manner:—they were holding their shirts over the flames, at the same time turning them rapidly round to prevent their catching fire; the inflated and scorching shirt was then suddenly rolled up, with a view to destroy its minute and many-legged inhabitants. Having amused ourselves for some time with this curious and picturesque scene, we returned by the same way we came, and passed through lines of sleeping soldiers on the quai, and waggoners on the Place Carousel. Not a light was to be seen in any of the apartments of the palace of the Tuilleries; and there were no persons moving in the deserted streets, excepting a few patrols of the allied horse. But on the Boulevard des Italiens there was a considerable number of Russian forage-carts laden with hay, and escorted by Cossacks, going to the westward.

The senate was sitting during the battle. The twelve mayors of Paris and the council of the department of the Seine were assembled at the Hôtel de Ville. The prefects of the department and the police were riding about the city, and visited the two marshals who commanded at the battle.

At a little after six o'clock, the mayors not having received any communications from the prefects, and the rumours of a capitulation having reached them, sent a deputation to marshal Marmont; he was at dinner when it arrived: he told them he had capitulated for the army only, and they must do what they could for the city. In consequence of this, eight of the mayors and municipal council of Paris; the baron Chabrol, prefect of the department of the Seine; the baron Pasquier, prefect of police; together with count Alexandre de Laborde and M. Tourton, who went by order of marshal Moncey, commandant of the national guard of Paris (he having quitted the capital to meet the emperor), jointly representing the national guard, having associated with the municipal body at the Hôtel de Ville, left Paris at between one and two in the morning, accompanied by colonel count Orlow and another officer, who had been delivered to marshal Marmont as hostages for the capitulation. They proceeded from the marshal's house to the Hôtel de Ville about midnight, having been there from the time

the capitulation was first drawn up. They arrived at four o'clock at the Château de Bondi, the emperor of Russia's head-quarters, who was then sleeping. While waiting his levee, tea was served them, and the duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt) arrived from Napoleon. At seven o'clock the deputation was admitted to the emperor of Russia, when it offered the city of Paris to his moderation, and the hospitals, the Hôtel de Ville, and public establishments, to his protection. He received them in the most courteous manner, saying that he expected to have seen them the preceding evening. They replied, that they had not been informed in time what had been then done. The emperor observed, that there was no necessity for their coming in the night, as the morning would have been time enough. He began a discourse by stating, that Napoleon had wantonly invaded his empire, and that a righteous judgment had brought him to their walls. The baron Thiboneau, sub-governor of the bank of France, and also one of the council of the department of the Seine, solicited a safeguard for the bank. The emperor replied, it was unnecessary, as the whole city was under protection; that he had no enemy in Paris, and only one in France; and assured the deputation, that not a soldier of his army should enter the city until the deputation returned. He entered into conversation with them: he asked M. Barthelmy if he knew where M. de Talleyrand

was, and how he was inclined to act on this occasion.—M. Tourton then requested of Alexander, that the national guard should continue the service; to which he agreed. About eight o'clock they withdrew, affected even to tears with gratitude for a reception so different from what they had expected. Caulincourt was then admitted to the emperor, who refused to listen to any proposition, and declared he would not make peace with Napoleon. The duke of Vicenza's troubled countenance, on coming out, betrayed the failure of his mission. Alexander was so taken up with the idea of his triumphal entry into Paris, that he could think of nothing else. All that Caulincourt could obtain was the promise that he would see him again.

Count Alexandre de Laborde informed me, that on the arrival of the deputation, M. Nesselrode, with whom he was previously acquainted, took him into the recess of one of the windows, and there questioned him respecting the state of public opinion in Paris, and what was to be done; or rather, what the French intended to do. He replied, that before he could answer that, he expected him (Nesselrode) to tell him, upon his honour, the number of troops the allies had in France. Nesselrode said, there were 150,000 before Paris, and that 50,000 were with the emperor of Austria. Laborde, upon this, said, that the talent of France was for the regency and

the new interests of the kingdom; but that the old nobility and the *salons* of Paris were strenuously for the Bourbons, unconditionally; that the mass of the population would only receive the Bourbons with a limited monarchy; but that if they were desirous of obtaining more ample information, he advised them to consult M. de Talleyrand,—he being the person most conversant on this subject, as the statesmen (hommes d'état) habitually met at his house. Upon this, Nesselrode asked if Talleyrand was in Paris: M. de Laborde replied, that he was on the preceding evening, but that Napoleon had ordered him to go to Blois. Nesselrode immediately despatched M. de Laborde to Talleyrand, desiring him not to quit Paris, and, in case of his refusal, to detain him by force; at the same time ordering the count de Dunow, aide-de-camp to prince Walkonski, major-general of the emperor of Russia, to accompany him, that he should not be impeded at the outposts. The emperor of Russia sent another messenger, that he should take up his quarters at M. de Talleyrand's: this had been previously arranged by the duchess de Courland. M. de Laborde and count de Dunow returned to Paris on horseback, followed by a Cossack (the first that entered the city). They met on the road the duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt), with an agitated look, who, having quitted Napoleon at the Cour de France, was galloping to the emperor of Russia's head-quarters; they

bowed in passing, but did not speak. M. de Laborde arrived at Talleyrand's a few minutes after seven in the morning, and found him in his dressing-gown. Upon communicating what had passed at Bondi, and adding that he had on the Place Vendôme a battalion of the national guard* devoted to him, Talleyrand told him to go into the drawing-room, and make the same communication to those he found there, and then ask abbé Louis what he was to do. In the drawing-room he found abbé Louis, monsieur de Pradt, archbishop of Mechlin, and the duc de Dalberg, who had been there about two hours, to whom M. de Laborde communicated the nature of his visit. M. Louis pulled out a white cockade, and said, "Take that." This, however, the count declined accepting for the purpose of offering it to the national guard.

Count Dunow breakfasted with M. de Laborde, and then returned to head-quarters, with M. de Talleyrand's acquiescence to the emperor of Russia's desire that he should remain at Paris.

From twelve at night until five in the morning, large parcels of official papers were brought from the office of the état-major to the Place Vendôme, and burnt before the door.

Early in the morning, before the barriers were open, the soldiers of the allied army climbed up

* The third of the second legion.

the palisades of the barrier Rochechouard, to look into Paris: they threw the following proclamation, by prince Schwartzenberg, over the wall, and through the iron gates:—

"HABITANS DE PARIS!

"Les armées alliés se trouvent devant Paris. Le but de leur marche vers la capitale de la France est fondé sur l'espoir d'une réconciliation sincère et durable avec elle. Depuis vingt ans, l'Europe est inondée de sang et de larmes. Les tentatives faites pour mettre un terme à tant de malheurs ont été inutiles, parcequ'il existe, dans le pouvoir même du gouvernement qui vous opprime, un obstacle insurmontable à la paix.

"Les Souverains alliés cherchent, de bonne foi, *une autorité salutaire en France,* qui puisse cémenter l'union de toutes les nations et de tous les gouvernemens avec elle. C'est à la ville de Paris qu'il appartient, dans les circonstances actuelles, *d'accélérer la paix* du monde. Son vœu est attendu avec l'intérêt qui doit inspirer un si immense résultat: qu'elle se prononce, et dès ce moment l'armée qui est devant ses murs devient le soutien de ses décisions.

"Parisiens!—Vous connaissez la situation de votre patrie, la conduite de Bourdeaux, l'occupation amicale de Lyon, les maux attirés sur la France, et les dispositions véritables de vos concitoyens. Vous trouverez dans ces exemples le

terme de la guerre étrangère et de la discorde civile: vous ne sauriez plus le chercher ailleurs.

" La conservation et la tranquillité de votre ville seront l'objet des soins et des mesures que les alliés s'offrent de prendre avec les autorités et les notables qui jouissent le plus de l'estime publique. Aucun logement militaire ne pésera sur la capitale.

" C'est dans ces sentimens que *l'Europe en armes* devant vos murs s'adresse à vous. Hâtez-vous de répondre à la confiance qu'elle met dans votre amour pour la patrie, et dans votre sagesse.

(Signé)

" LE MARECHAL PRINCE DE SCHWARTZENBERG,

" *Le commandant-en-chef des armées alliés.*"

While the guards of the emperor of Russia were entering Paris, in grand parade, the Silesian army moved by the outer boulevards, crossed the Seine by the bridge of Jena, opposite the Champ de Mars, (this purposely on account of the name, as general Mufflin told me,) to the entrance from Orleans, where they took their position across the road, having on their left the steep valley through which the little river of the Bievre runs. At the same time the Austrian army marched over the bridge of Austerlitz, and took up their position on the Fontainebleau road, on the same line, and having the valley and river on their right. This position of the armies, general Mufflin said, was

excellent: for should Napoleon arrive by either of these roads, to join the army which had evacuated Paris, and march upon the city, the army on the road by which he arrived was to fall back and give battle, while the other branch of the army was to take him in the rear. A similar plan was afterwards executed with success at Waterloo.

After the guard had defiled before the emperor of Russia, and Mufflin had conducted the emperor to Talleyrand's, he returned to Montmartre, where Blucher had remained indisposed the whole day with what was said to be a complaint in his eyes, and did not enter Paris till two days afterwards. The fact was, that the excitation of the late events had temporarily affected his mind. When the emperor of Russia arrived at Talleyrand's, he retired with him into his closet, where they remained for some time. Talleyrand was frightened, and hesitated to avow his wish for the rejection of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons; but the emperor encouraged him, by saying that he had sufficient force to overcome any army that Buonaparte might oppose to him, and that he was determined not to treat with Buonaparte nor any of his family.

Talleyrand requested permission of the emperor to introduce abbé de Pradt and abbé Louis. This being granted, a council was held, at which the king of Prussia, prince Schwartzenberg, the

duc de Dalberg, Messrs. Nesselrode, Pozzo de Borgo, the princes Lichtenstein, de Talleyrand, de Pradt, and Louis, formed a semicircle, and Alexander walked to and fro. The restoration of the Bourbons was urged by the French. Talleyrand spoke first, but in his usual icy, cautious manner; abbé Louis next, who was followed by de Pradt. Alexander replied, that however it might be his wish to restore the Bourbons, yet he must own, that though he had been three months in France, he had no-where perceived the slightest manifestation of such a feeling; nay, so far from it, that only six days ago, at Fere Champenoise, some thousands of raw troops, just taken from the plough, allowed themselves to be cut in pieces in the cause of Napoleon, when a cry in favour of the Bourbons would have saved them. Abbé de Pradt replied, that he could not expect them to declare against a man with whom he condescended to treat, though he had a halter round his neck. Alexander asked the meaning of those words, to which de Pradt replied, that he had just seen the people put a rope round the neck of the emperor's statue in the Place Vendôme,—a circumstance of which Alexander was then ignorant. After some discussion, the emperor of Russia agreed not to treat with Napoleon, and, at the suggestion of abbé Louis, nor with any of his family. De Pradt told me he retired into a corner of the apartment, with Roux

Laborie, a lawyer, and a creature of Talleyrand's, to whom he dictated the emperor's declaration, which was hastily written with a pencil, and shewn to Alexander, who approved of it. Michaud, who was in waiting, caused it immediately to be printed, putting under the name of the emperor, "imprimeur du roi," and two hours afterwards it was stuck up in Paris.

The formation of a government, *pro tempore*, was agreed upon, its members named, and de Pradt had the mortification to find he was not among those nominated. The restoration of the Bourbons resulted from this council; for Mufflin told me, that on their march, the Bourbons were never thought of: all they intended was, the overthrow of Buonaparte.

Sir Neil Campbell, in a conversation on the 9th of February, 1819, informed me that the king's proclamation at Hartwell was brought to the allied army by Monsieur. Sir Neil first saw it in the hands of Wreden, who received it from Schwartzenberg: he shewed it to him in a mysterious manner, and as a secret. The intentions of the allies either not being fixed, or at least being unknown, he obtained it for ten minutes, and went into a stable, where he copied it with a black-lead pencil: he had two or three thousand copies printed at Provins. When obliged to fly from that town, he, in going through Mormans early in the morning, and closely pursued by the

French, took a bundle of them out of his holsters, and hung them on the hooks of a butcher's shop.

The Austrian commandant tore down the Hartwell proclamation at Dijon, where it had been stuck up.

The allies most certainly had formed no plan of what they were to do on arriving at Paris.

The report that their ammunition was expended at the battle of Paris is not true.

A considerable number of allied troops, who had not complete uniforms, marched round the outer boulevard, and entered Paris after dark; for none in loose brown great-coats were in the triumphal entry, while all those quartered in the barrack on the quai opposite the Tuilleries were so dressed.

Viscomte Sosthenes de Rochefoucault, son of the duc de Doudeauville, and son-in-law to M. Matthieu de Montmorency, told me that he, mounted on horseback, accompanied by M. Talon, and followed by two servants, distributed some white cockades as they proceeded, in different directions, to join the Bourbon party on the boulevards. When the sovereigns were stationed on the north side of the Champs Elysées, to review their troops, he rode up, and solicited them to restore the Bourbons. At the same time a number of persons of the ancien régime, who had surrounded the sovereigns, made the same request. To such extent did the admiration of the allies

extend, that the comtesse Perigord got up behind a Cossack; but though the sovereigns, and particularly the emperor of Russia, received them in the most gracious manner, yet they gave no answer to their demand, and M. Sosthenes de Rochefoucault said, it was evidently not their intention to restore the king: then, addressing himself to the generals who surrounded the emperor, he asked what could be done to influence the emperor. One of them replied, that it was not the intention of the emperor to force any government on the French people, and that it rested with them to declare their wishes. Sosthenes then addressed the bystanders; but, said he, the people preserved "le plus morne silence." Sosthenes then said to the general, this silence must be attributed to fear; but if the sovereigns will declare that they will not treat with the "Usurper," the people will no longer hesitate in proclaiming their sentiments. He proposed to overthrow the statue of Napoleon from the column of the Place Vendôme. The aide-de-camp of Alexander seized this idea as excellent. Sosthenes then mounted his white horse and harangued the people, (he is a man of engaging manners, an agreeable though not a powerful voice, a handsome person, no talent, but considerable *French* energy,) and at the same time distributed some pieces of *gold* among them: they followed him to the Place Vendôme, forced open the bronze door

in the pedestal of the column, and procured cords. Meeting with resistance from one individual only, who was soon overpowered, they began to fix the ropes. He rode to the grand duke Constantine, to inform him of what he had done, and to request a guard to prevent any mischief. His reception has been already stated in a preceding page.

In the evening, M. Sosthenes de Rochefoucault went to the meeting at M. de Mortfontaine's, in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, who presided; but all was noise, tumult, and clamour—each asserting his services, his claims, the *epoch of his emigration*, or boasting how he had betrayed, under pretence of serving, the usurper: at last Sosthenes jumped on a table, and exclaimed that they were losing time, and that the only thing they had to do was to send a deputation to the emperor of Russia, praying him to restore their legitimate king, and offered to make one of the number. This was agreed to, and three other persons were added, M. Ferrand, M. Cæsar Choiseul, and the third he *said* he had forgotten. In going out of M. de Mortfontaine's, he met M. de Chateaubriand, and induced him to go with them. They arrived at the emperor's at nine o'clock, who had retired to rest: they were received by M. Nesselrode. M. de Chateaubriand *would* not speak—M. Ferrand *could* not—Sosthenes, therefore, announced the business;

but they did not offer any written address to the emperor. Nesselrode replied to this effect: —

" Je quitte à l'instant l'empereur Alexandre, et c'est en son nom que je vous parle. Retournez vers cette assemblée, et annoncez à tous les Français que l'empereur, touché des cris qu'il a attendu ce matin, et des vœux qui lui ont été si vivement exprimés, va rendre la couronne à celui à qui seul elle appartient. Louis XVIII va monter sur son trône."

They then returned to the meeting, and were received with acclamations. A scene of tumult and confusion ensued, all desiring to be heard, or at least to speak. There was no means of dissolving the meeting: at last it occurred to M. Talon to extinguish the lights, and this alone forced them to separate.

The *Moniteur* of this day was only half a sheet, and that did not contain a single word relative to the army, or of foreign news. The articles announced the payment of the funds, judgments respecting the claims of individuals by the grand judge, four columns of poetry, and a tour in Italy. The theatres were announced *as if* they were open; and contained the following notice from the Hospice Civile: —

" Le conseil des hospices de Paris invite les habitans à faire le plus promptement possible vue de l'urgence en leurs municipalités respectives de nouveaux envois, aussi abondans qu'ils pourront

de linge à pansemens, charpie, draps, chemises, et autres objets de fournitures utiles aux blessés."

The only evidence by which a state different from the usual one of Paris might be suspected from the journals was, that no price of stocks was mentioned. M. Sailliant de Juiney appeared at nine in the morning in the Place Vendôme with a white cockade in his hat.

Morin, who had formerly been administrator of the army, with two others, were arrested by the national guards in the Rue Montmartre, for wearing white cockades. About nine o'clock they were conducted to the Mairie of the third arrondissement. The national guard tore their cockades out of their hats, and trod them under foot. The marquis de la Grange immediately went to general Plateau, prefect of the palace to the king of Prussia, who had already come into Paris, and had given orders to set the men at liberty. The marquis de la Grange presented Morin this day to general Sacken, the newly named governor of Paris, who issued the following order: —

" *Ordre de son Excellence le Général-en-chef, Gouverneur militaire de la Place de Paris, le Baron Sacken.*

" Tous les journaux qui s'impriment à Paris sont dès ce moment mis sous la police de M. Morin, qui ne fera rien imprimer, et qui ne

laissera rien imprimer, sans que les dits journaux et autres papiers publiés ne me soient représentés et soumis a mon approbation.

" Tous les agens et toutes les autorités obtempérent aux ordres de M. Morin pour cet objet de police et d'imprimerie.

" *Paris, le* 31 *Mars,* 1814. (Signé) " SACKEN."

Morin named the following censors: — De Mersan, for the *Journal des Debats;* Salgues, for the *Journal de Paris;* Michaud, for the *Gazette de France;* and *ordered* them to announce that the white cockade had been assumed, and that the allied armies had been received with reiterated shouts of " Vive le roi! Vivent les Bourbons!"

EVENTS OF APRIL 1814.

April 1st. — AT eight o'clock in the morning I went to the Place Vendôme. The ropes still remained affixed to the statue of Buonaparte, but a sentinel of the national guard was placed at the foot of the column to prevent any further attempts to pull it down. The gates of the Tuilleries gardens continued locked. Some few shops in the Rue St. Honoré were open; and a considerable number of officers of the allied army was strolling about, each Russian followed by

one or more light cavalry, armed with pikes fourteen or fifteen feet long.

The declaration of the emperor Alexander, which had been stuck up in different parts of Paris, was read by the people with great eagerness, and many of them were copying it. The proclamation of prince Schwartzenberg was also stuck up, but that of the emperor of Russia excited the greatest sensation.

Walked in the garden of the Palais Royal, and afterwards in the streets of Paris. Officers of the allied army, and many of the soldiers, were every where seen gazing about; but still, few shops were open. Those who wore white cockades were often insulted, and some of the national guards tore them out of the hats of the wearers. In the course of these rambles, I saw the emperor Alexander on foot, with four or five attendants, on the Quai Voltaire. Most of the shops in the Rue Thionville (now Dauphine) were open. The theatres opened this evening. At Feydeau, instead of the Théâtre Imperiale de l'Opéra Comique, " Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique," was printed at the head of the bill. But at the Opera " Académie Impériale de Musique" the usual title remained. The emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, prince Schwartzenberg, and a great number of officers of the allied army, were at the opera this evening. They were received with enthusiasm by the crowds at the

theatre. Between the acts, the air of "Vive Henri IV!" was performed, the words of which were loudly called for. Lays came forward, with a paper in his hand, and sung the following impromptu to that air: —

"Vive Guillaume
Et ses guerriers vaillans!
De ce royaume
Il sauve les enfans.
Par sa victoire
Il nous donne la paix,
Et compte sa gloire
Par ses nombreux bienfaits.

"Vive Alexandre!
Vive ce roi des rois!
Sans rien prétendre,
Sans nous dicter des lois,
Ce prince auguste
A le triple renom,
De héros, de juste,
De nous rendre un Bourbon."

The ladies in the boxes threw white cockades into the pit, which were received with acclamations. Le Triomphe de Trajan had been announced, but the emperor of Russia desired it might not be performed; modestly disclaiming the incense of this celebrated piece. The Vestal was performed.

The overthrow of the insignia of Buonaparte, which decorated his box, was loudly called for by the audience; but as this would have inter-

rupted the performance, a cloth was thrown over them.

Price of stocks this day: — 5 per cents, 49, 50, 51; actions de la banque de France, 640, 680, 675.

The following paragraph appeared in the *Moniteur*: —

" Avis. — Le public est prévenu, que le départ des courriers de la poste aux letters aura lieu aujourd'hui comme à l'ordinaire."

Caulincourt having solicited an audience with the emperor of Russia, he was admitted between three and four o'clock, while Talleyrand was at the senate.

The great change which had taken place at Paris was made known in those parts of France where the newspapers could penetrate, by the insertion of prince Schwartzenberg's proclamation; and the following was inserted in the *Moniteur* of this day: —

" *Copie d'une Note, en date de* 31 *Mars*, 1814, *addressée par le Comte de Nesselrode à M. le Baron Pasquier, Préfet de Police*: —

" Par ordre de S. M. l'empereur mon maître, j'ai l'honneur de vous inviter, M. le Baron, à faire sortir de prison les habitans de Coulomiers, M. M. de Varennes et de Grimberg, détenus à Sainte Pelagie pour avoir empêché de tirer sur les troupes alliées dans l'intérieur de leur commune, et

avoir sauvé ainsi la vie de leur concitoyens et leur propriétés.

" S. M. desire également que vous rendiez à la liberté tous les individus qui, par attachement à leur ancien et leur légitime souverain, ont été détenus jusqu'ici.

" Vous voudrez bien, M. le Baron, faire insérer cette lettre dans tous les journaux.

(Signé) " LE COMTE DE NESSELRODE."

And also: —

" *Paris, le* 31 *Mars,* 1814.

" M. le Baron. — J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser une Proclamation que M. le Maréchal Prince de Schwartzenberg vient de publier, au nom des puissances alliées. Je vous ordonne de la faire insérer dans tous les journaux, l'afficher aux coins des rues, en un mot, de lui donner immediatement la plus grande publicité possible.

" Agréez l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

(Signé) " LE COMTE DE NESSELRODE."

" Habitans de Paris!" &c. *Vide* page 126.

The *Journal de l'Empire* resumed its former title of *Journal des Debats;* but only half a sheet was published, which contained a very spirited account of yesterday's transactions, written by abbé de Pradt.

The senate having been convoked on the 1st

by Talleyrand, as vice-grand-elector, sixty-one senators assembled this day at their palace of the Luxembourg. This meeting, at which Talleyrand presided, (being as usual secret,) was opened by a speech from him, which the abbé de Pradt assured me he himself wrote for the occasion. In this address he called upon the senators to save their country, nor suffer another day to pass without having established an administration which would impart vigour, and give confidence to their oppressed countrymen.

After divers proposals had been made by several senators, it was resolved that a government, *pro tempore*, ("*gouvernement provisoire*") should be formed, composed of five members, who should be charged with the administration, and who were to present to the senate the project of a constitution suitable to the French people.

The senate then elected the following persons members of the "gouvernement provisoire:"—M. de Talleyrand, prince of Benevento; the senator comte de Beurnonville; senator comte de Jaucourt; the duc de Dalberg, conseiller d'état; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the constituent assembly.

This being done, several other proposals were agitated. Count Destutt de Tracy told me that he proposed the "*déchéance*" of the emperor Napoleon, and the hereditary right established in his family to be abolished. Several senators started up, exclaiming, "Qu'est ce que vous faites là!"

The venerable metaphysician coolly answered, that his proposal was only a necessary sequence to what they had just decreed.

Talleyrand then put De Tracy's proposition to the vote, which was carried by a show of hands. Some of the members declined voting, but no one held up his hand for Napoleon. The secretaries having sneaked away upon the proposal being made, the official minutes could not be drawn up; they came, however, to the next meeting, and the act passed on the 2d of April; and on the 3d, received the form of a senatus-consultum. The senator Lambrechts was charged with drawing up the preamble ("*considérant,*") and by which a noble precedent is established.

2d. — Early this morning, I observed from my window that part of the Silesian army, which had bivouacked on Montmartre, was breaking up.

When I went out I found the statue of Buonaparte, on the column in the Place Vendôme, veiled by a large sail-cloth.

A column of Russians entering the boulevards by the Rue du Montblanc, continued their march to the Pont de Jena, where it crossed the river, to join the army on the south side of Paris. I also saw a second column of allied troops with their baggage, coming from without and crossing Paris by the Rue St. Martin.

Breakfasted with madame de L——; she told me that the battalion of national guards in which

her brother-in-law, M. Titon, a judge in the *cour imperiale*, served, had, with the exception of the captain and three privates, come to a secret understanding relative to the Bourbons, and were determined to fight in their cause should Napoleon march against Paris; but of whose motions every one was as ignorant as they had so lately been of those of their new masters.

I afterwards walked up the Fauxbourg du Temple. A Russian guard was posted at the barrier, but the clerks of the octroi still attended for the collection of the usual duties. Proceeded to Belleville, at the entrance of which, in a small field to the left of the road, a Russian bivouack had been established, but which was evacuated this morning. Some people, mostly children, were eagerly engaged scratching the dung-heaps, in search of money and other small articles lost by the soldiers, and, from what I could perceive, were amply repaid for their trouble; thus explaining to me why so much ancient money is usually found in Roman encampments.

While thus employed, they were interrupted by a considerable train of small Russian forage and baggage-carts re-occupying the field, and conducted by Russian boors, having the air of perfect barbarians, and at whose approach the French made off. Entering Belleville, the effects of war were presented to view in horrible variety. Several dead bodies of the French

soldiery, killed on the 30th, were lying against the houses of the high street, from the middle of which they had been dragged, merely because they would have impeded the carriages; but no person was employed in removing them for the purpose of interment. Every house had been broken open and pillaged, as all the inhabitants had fled to Paris during the battle; but they had now ventured to return, to remove such articles of furniture as remained uninjured. The carts used in this business, and those of the Russian forage train, so obstructed the highway, that foot passengers had no means of passing without stepping on the bodies of the slain. This, however, gave them no concern. A large house on the left, at the upper part of the Rue de Romainville, had been used as a prison for the captive French, who were released this morning. At every step I advanced, the number of objects of devastation increased. The walls and houses on the right side of the street, in many places, were pierced through by cannon-balls, some of which had buried themselves on the opposite side. This street terminates at the brow of a hill, and there opens upon the Pré St. Gervais. I found this beautiful spot, that descends from the heights of Belleville to the plain of Pantin, and till now the picture of industry and happiness, strewed with carcasses of men and horses; the kitchen-gardens and extensive plantations of lilacs were

torn and trampled down, as were the smaller fruit-trees, while the larger ones were pierced by the musketry, or overthrown and shattered by the artillery; all around bespoke the fury with which the battle had raged, and although many of the dead bodies had been thrown into a neighbouring sand-pit, yet, on the summit of the hill I beheld hundreds nearly stripped, but still unburied. Some of the proprietors of the garden-grounds, where the bodies lay, were digging shallow holes, into which they thrust the dead, appropriating to themselves their shirts as a recompense for this ill-performed office of humanity. The houses and yards of the village of Pré St. Gervais were full of those who had crawled from the tumult of the battle to die. On ascending through groves of fine walnut-trees, with the intervening spaces laid out in vineyards, kitchen, and fruit-gardens, towards the Bois de Romainville, I was struck with horror at the sight of a far greater number of slain.

The Russian account of the battle says, that such was the loss on both sides, from the obstinacy with which this spot was attacked and defended, that the sharp-shooters were obliged to be renewed several times.

Six or seven French surgeons were searching about for such persons as remained alive, and were employed in dressing their wounds; while I remained, I witnessed the case of three poor

wretches, who had lingered, unattended, from Wednesday, and were then again abandoned to all the horrors of their situation, no one being employed to convey them to an hospital. During the dressing of a Russian, who was severely wounded on the head, and appeared insensible, a Cossack riding by, drew his pistol from his girdle, and signified, by signs, that it would be preferable to end the misery of his fellow-soldier; the by-standers, however, demonstrating a different opinion, he coolly returned his pistol and continued his route. The dead were lying stretched out, generally with one of their arms extended; their countenances by no means indicating that they had "*bit the dust*," or exhibiting fierce passions. Some, who had been killed by artillery, presented horribly mangled remains; but of the others, with the exception of those whose faces were swollen, the countenances were very placid; and where national physiognomy was not sufficiently marked, the blue dye of their coat having stained their shirts, served to distinguish the French. Many of the Paris rabble were engaged in plunder, and in stripping the bodies. As the fire-arms, when perfect, were seized at the gates of Paris, to prevent this, they broke them; and the lock, barrel, and ramrod, were separately carried into the city for sale. The few whom mere curiosity had excited to visit the field of battle, were obliged to go in parties for mutual protection, as well from

the fear of the French pillagers as the Cossacks; but, notwithstanding this, many persons were robbed.

Returning by the west side of Belleville, in the Rue St. Denis, No. 136, the right-hand corner of the Rue Thiery, I passed the house I saw burning during the battle. It was a handsome building, and had been a ladies' boarding-school. The fire was occasioned by a shell from a howitzer breaking through the roof and exploding. All the houses in this district had been pillaged, every door and every shutter being broken open; but a Russian patrole, going the rounds, drove away the soldiery who were roaming about, seeking the gleanings of pillage. Between the village and the Butte St. Chaumont was a Russian post and a park of artillery. One of the three windmills on this side of the village was destroyed by the cannon-shot; every thing in the fields was trodden down, and the innumerable empty bottles with which this extensive and elevated plain was strewn, evinced that myriads had bivouacked on it after the battle. The firing of cannon at the Château de Vincennes, which still held out, was heard at intervals.

I returned, at four o'clock in the afternoon, by the Boulevard du Temple, whence, to the Boulevard des Italiens, a distance of more than a mile, I did not meet twenty persons who had white cockades. At the door of Tortoni's coffee-house, the corner of the Rue Taitbout, I noticed several;

but this house was a rendezvous of the Bourbon party.

In consequence of the national guard, and several other persons, with the agents of the police, having yesterday torn the white cockades from the hats of those persons who wore them, the following Notice was stuck up on the walls, and also inserted in the newspapers:—

"Le Gouverneur-général de Paris, baron Sacken, défend expressément que personne dans cette ville puisse être inquiété, offensé, et molesté, par qui faire ce soit, pour faire d'opinion politique, et pour les signes extérieurs qui pourroient être portés. "BARON SACKEN,

"*Le Gouverneur-général de Paris.*"

"*Paris, le* 1 *Avril*, 1814."

The proclamation "du conseil-général du département de la Seine et du conseil municipal de Paris," to the inhabitants of the capital, was stuck up on the walls, and sold in the streets. This energetic production concludes by declaring, that the citizens renounce all obedience to Napoleon Buonaparte, and expresses the most ardent wish that the monarchical government shall be re-established in the person of Louis XVIII and his legitimate successors! This important proceeding was effected by M. Bellart, an advocate; who, on the day of the battle, assembled his family, and stated to them that the moment was

arrived to throw off the yoke of Buonaparte; that he considered it a duty he owed his country to devote his life to the attempt; but, as they would all be sacrificed to the tyrant's vengeance if he should fail, he would abandon the design unless he obtained their acquiescence. They all declared it their desire that he should proceed. He accordingly convened an assembly of the two councils at the Hôtel de Ville on the 1st of April, and there proposed his resolutions. M. Gauthier alone supported them. One member dissented, avowedly from fear. The baron Thiboneau, sub-governor of the bank of France, declined on account of personal obligation to the emperor, declaring, at the same time, that he wished well to the undertaking. Four members were absent. After some debates, the members acceded to the resolutions drawn up by M. Bellart, who thus laid the foundation for the overthrow of the imperial government and the restoration of the Bourbons. This decision of the councils influenced the senate, whose determinations fixed the wavering disposition of the emperor of Russia, who, as count Alexandre de Laborde informed me, was, even on Friday evening, far from having decided upon restoring the Bourbon dynasty, and, notwithstanding his declaration published on the 31st of March, was rather inclined to favour the plan for confirming the regency, as he did not place much confidence in Talleyrand. Pozzo de Borgo, his major-general, a Corsican,

who was actuated by personal hatred to Buonaparte, principally induced him to espouse the cause of the Bourbons. Nesselrode was for the regency; so was the duc de Dalberg (member of the government, *pro tempore*). On the other hand, the partisans of the ancient dynasty, who, by their emissaries, were tampering with Marmont, supplicated Alexander to suspend his determination, confident that Marmont's wavering would produce a like feeling in the whole army. The point was finally settled by the proclamation of the municipal councils.

In the evening the king of Prussia visited the Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique. Cendrillon was announced, but La Fausse Magie, followed by the Déserteur, were given. The king did not remain until the end of the performance, during the whole of which the audience evinced a strong disposition in favour of the Bourbons. St. Aubin performed the part of the Invalide in the Déserteur: a white cockade was thrown upon the stage: this the house commanded him to wear, which he did during the rest of the evening. In the concluding scene, wherein the cry of "Vive le roi!" occurs, the audience joined in it with the greatest enthusiasm. It was at this moment that I entered the theatre; and at the conclusion of the opera, several pieces, which had been forbidden by the police, were commanded by the audience to be reproduced.

The emperor of Russia having intimated that he wished to receive the officers of the national guard, they assembled this day at the house of the état-major, in the Place Vendôme, to deliberate whether they should on that occasion assume the white cockade; and also if the national guard, who were on duty near the emperor of Russia's person, should wear it. The majority were for the measure; but the two chiefs of the legions of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau were of opinion, that great inconvenience might result from proposing it too soon—they therefore waited on the emperor with the tricolour cockade, which was also worn by the sentries. The deputation, which consisted of the twelve chiefs of legions and the four of the staff, was well received by Alexander, who made no observation relative to the cockade or to the state of public opinion. He only complimented them on the order which reigned in Paris by their exertion. They did not wait on the king of Prussia.

There was not any account of the battle in the *Moniteur* of this day, but it contained the emperor Alexander's declaration. A supplement appeared, in which the sitting of the senate of the 1st was given, as also those at half-past three in the afternoon and nine at night, for forming a gouvernement provisoire.

3d. — The result of the sittings of the senate on the 1st instant, relative to the formation of a

gouvernement provisoire; and of the 2d, pronouncing the forfeiture of the crown by Napoleon Buonaparte, were inserted in the *Moniteur* and other daily papers, together with the address to the French army from the new government; they were also printed separately, and cried about the streets. No one from fear seemed now to hesitate about declaring against the emperor, though still ignorant of his position. After breakfasting at the Café Anglais with my friend Ampère, professor of mathematics to the Polytechnic school, I took a walk with mademoiselle D. along the boulevards. White cockades were very generally worn, and a stall had been established for the sale of them in the Rue Vendôme. The old chevaliers de St. Louis had brought forth their long-hidden crosses, and displayed them at their button-holes. The Champs Elysées, from the Place Louis XV to the Elysée Bourbon, was covered with military. The Prussians bivouacked on the south side of the road with all the regularity of disciplined troops. In the northern quincunx was the Cossack camp. None of the order—none of the usual pageantry, imposing splendour, or even weapons of a modern army, were here to be seen; but a confused horde of barbarians from the borders of the Don, the deserts of Tartary, and from the shores of the Caspian, presented itself: time seemed to have rolled back, and another age, as well as another state of society and another people, were dis-

played. The supineness in which the greater part of this multitude was now immersed, contrasted with the energy they had so long evinced, the fatigue so long endured, and the powerful emotions so recently experienced, was most striking. At the entrance of huts, constructed more for the security of plunder than for personal convenience, as they were not high enough to sit upright in, some were botching their variously fashioned grotesque clothes, cobbling their boots, or contemplating their booty; others offering various articles for sale, such as shawls, cotton goods, watches, &c., for which the French were eagerly bargaining, undisturbed by the reflection that they were thus facilitating the pillage of their own country. Some were employed in cooking; but the major part were wallowing in a state of uncomfortable lethargy, among the offals of animals they had killed, and with which the ground was strewed, and on the accumulated litter of their horses, who were eating the bark of the trees to which they were fastened. Against these trees arms of various descriptions,—lances of prodigious length, bows and quivers of arrows, sabres, pistols, together with military cloaks, and other articles of dress and rudely fashioned saddlery, were placed and suspended: highly picturesque groups resulted from this confused mixture. The French were strolling about unrestrained and even unregarded by the barbarians, to a degree hardly

conceivable. Bands of hawkers from Paris were offering gingerbread, apples, oranges, bread, red herrings, wine, brandy, and small beer for sale; the latter appeared to the Cossacks an unpalatable beverage, since, after putting it to their lips, none would swallow it, while oranges were sought for with the greatest avidity by every class of Russians. The altercations which arose about the comparative value of foreign coin with the French money, usually terminated, through the good-nature and indifference of the Cossacks, to the advantage of the hucksters, whose attempts to cheat only produced a grin of good-humour in return. After amusing ourselves for some time with this singularly interesting scene, we continued our walk over the bridge of Jena to the Champ de Mars. Here, in the avenue, was a Russian encampment, and in the area a considerable park of French artillery, which a Russian officer was comparing with the inventory, held by a French clerk, who was standing by at the time, and who had delivered it with the guns and ammunition. As the tumbrils were laden with powder, the officer desired the national guard to warn off the spectators, for fear of accidents which might result from nails in their shoes or fire from their tobacco-pipes. The école militaire was used as barracks for the Russian soldiers. At Gros-Caillou, a district inhabited chiefly by washer-women, linen was hanging to dry: this, while we

were there, some of the Parisian rabble instigated the allied troops to plunder, that they might afterwards buy it, thinking that their own police had no right to interfere: in this, however, they were deceived; for no sooner had they possessed themselves of the spoil, than the national guard took them into custody, and conducted them to the prefecture of police. We saw two women and a man who could scarcely walk under the weight of their bundles. From the Champ de Mars we proceeded to the Invalids; when passing before the hotel, mademoiselle D. remarked, that the cannon had been removed from the platform. An old invalid, who overheard her, said sorrowfully—"Alas! of what use would they be to us now? they were used to announce our victories." In every other point, however, the national property had been respected. Many of these old warriors, who seemed pleased to find themselves once more in the bustle of a camp, were rambling in that of the Germans, which occupied the whole space from the iron gates of the hotel to the river, and formed a curious and varied scene, in the centre of which was a pedestal, supporting the celebrated bronze-winged lion brought from St. Mark's Place, Venice, and which, according to the inscription, was placed as a trophy by order of Napoleon Buonaparte, emperor of the French, the first year of his reign, 1804. "Sous les yeux des guerriers dont il attest les exploits." Many

huts had been erected, in which were some very decent and well-dressed German women. On the railed-in grass-plats were some cows belonging to the army, brought from beyond the right bank of the Rhine. In the rear were the kitchens and the forge-carts, at which the farriers and armourers were employed in repairing the destructive results of the campaign. In our whole walk we did not perceive the smallest tendency to insolence in any of the allied army. There was, on the contrary, a display of kindness and mildness of manner in the soldiers which discipline alone could never have produced. We returned by the garden of the Tuilleries, which, being re-opened, was crowded by the Parisian Sunday promenaders, many with white cockades: several women wore them. A Russian soldier and a national guard were posted at each entrance.

The Rue St. Honoré was thronged with people of every description mingled together: inhabitants of all the north of Europe, and the Asiatic subjects of the Russian empire, from the Caspian Sea to the Wall of China, were riding about; Cossacks, with their sheep-skin jackets, sandy-coloured, shaggy beards, long lances, and the constant appendage to their necks, the kanschuh, which is a short whip, with a hard platted thong of equal thickness throughout; Calmucks, and different Tartar tribes, with their flat

noses, little eyes, and dark reddish-brown skins; Baschkins and Tungusians of Siberia, armed with bows and arrows; Tscherkess or Circassian noblemen from the foot of Mount Caucasus, clad in complete hauberks of steel mail, perfectly bright,* and conical helmets, similar in form to those worn in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; Russian and Prussian officers in full uniform, and most of them decorated with orders. Some of the officers of the former were mere boys, and all of them either wore stays, or else were very tightly girt above the hips; their breasts were very much padded, and they wore white *kid* gloves, with their hair very bushy, down to their shoulders. The common soldiers of the Russian infantry wear their hair cut as close as possible. Russian carriages were to be seen with rope harnesses, the bearded coachman holding the reins in both hands, with extended arms, the width of the body asunder, the whip hanging to the right wrist, dressed in a robe, and a broad-brimmed hat, with the crown enlarging towards the top: the postilion mounted on the off horse. Such was the equipage even of baron Sacken, Russian governor of Paris!

The Palais Royal was, as usual, crowded to excess, and exhibited a most curious scene, but of another description; for here the French were

* This steel mail is brought from Persia and Kubesca....

placarding their sentiments, which the assumed right of a free press enabled them to intrude upon the public: but to this shadow of liberty an ephemeral existence only was allowed. The provisional government on the following day decreed, that no such manifestations of public sentiment should be permitted. The sides of the arcades were covered, and rapidly re-covered, with a profusion of ebullitions of vanity, legitimacy, and abuse of their no longer dreaded emperor: individuals in this manner forcing themselves into notice by giving their votes for the restoration of the long-forgotten Bourbons. Among the most curious were those of Lamarre, a schoolmaster and author of some philological works, and of the celebrated Brissot de Warville's son, who had been expelled from the Polytechnic school by order of Buonaparte, for refusing to vote for his being emperor.

M. de Chateaubriand's celebrated pamphlet, "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons," was announced for publication by numerous large bills, printed on unusually fine paper. Sixteen thousand copies of this work were sold in the course of two months.

At twelve o'clock at noon an order was sent by the governor to the prefect of Paris, to put all the barges on the river, with the iron cramps, timber, &c. in requisition, to construct a bridge

over the Seine, just above the barrier of Bercy: this was obeyed. At seven in the evening an order to construct a second bridge arrived, and at midnight a third. These objects were instantly procured: the architects and their clerks belonging to the prefecture were on the spot to acknowledge the receipt of the materials. The allied soldiers began on Sunday morning to level the earth on the banks of the river. Two thousand pontoniers and soldiers, mostly Bavarians, worked all Sunday night and the whole of Monday: on Tuesday morning they relaxed their exertions, and in the afternoon left off, when one bridge was completed and a second was half executed.

The order for building these bridges, general Mufflin told me originated with him; for had there been a battle, the passage of troops through Paris would have been productive of great confusion, and the removal of tumbrils, laden with powder, would have been attended with great danger: but he was certain that if Napoleon had attacked them, the French army would have been utterly destroyed.

3d. — The Conservatory Senate, in a senatus-consultum, declared and decreed,

" 1. Napoleon Buonaparte est déchu du trône, et le droit d'hérédité établi dans sa famille est aboli.

" 2. Le peuple Français et l'armée sont deliés du serment de fidelité envers Napoleon Buonaparte.

" 3. Le present décret sera transmis par un message au gouvernement provisoire de la France, envoyé de suite à tous les départemens et aux armées, et proclamé incessamment dans tous les quartiers de la capitale.

" BARTHELMY, *le comte de Valence.*
" PASTORET."

The corps législatif assembled at the intimation of the gouvernement provisoire. The president, the duke of Massa, was at Blois with the imperial government. Comte Henri de Montesquieu, the vice-president, who filled the chair when the former was absent, *declining* on *this occasion*, the other vice-president, M. Felix Faulcon, took the chair, and reading the arrêté of the gouvernement provisoire, announced that the senate had declared the *déchéance* of Napoleon Buonaparte, which had been voted on the ground that he had violated the constitutional compact: the corps législatif accordingly adhered to the act of the senate, and acknowledged and declared the *déchéance* of Napoleon Buonaparte and his family. This declaration was signed by those present, to the number of seventy-seven. Comte Henri de Montesquiou, though he voted, would not sign

the resolution. M. Fornier de St. Laray proposed to close the list of signatures, that those who had come forward on the first meeting should have the sole merit; but on this proposition, the house passed to the order of the day.

The public were then admitted, and the declaration read to them.

4th. — M. Lorris, keeper of the government warehouses in the Fauxbourg Poissonier, received an order to pack up immediately the triumphal car and the four horses of hammered copper, that they might be returned to Berlin, to be replaced on the Brandenburgh Gate, from which they had been taken and sent as spoils to Paris by order of Buonaparte. The packing up and transporting of them to this city, though it cost seventeen thousand francs, (as M. Lorris told me) had been so carelessly executed, that on their arrival they were so much damaged that their repair cost twenty-three thousand francs. The metal was not so thick as a shilling.

This day the gouvernement provisoire resolved and ordered that all emblems, initial letters, and armorial bearings, which characterised the "*gouvernement de Buonaparte,*" should be suppressed and effaced wherever they appeared. This was to be exclusively executed by

persons delegated by the police or municipal authorities, and that no individual zeal should aid or prevent.

Thus, in the course of twenty years the monuments of kings were torn down by republicans; those of the republicans were suppressed by order of Buonaparte; and those of the latter, in their turn, were demolished by this mongrel government. These successive *great moral lessons* produce no permanent effect on the people, and are useful only as admonitions to despotic governments.

The following appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 5th: —

"*Copie des Lettres de Créance de M. le Commissaire, nommé par S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, pour resider près du Gouvernement Provisoire.*

"En m'éloignant de Paris, j'ai pensé qu'il etait nécessaire de pourvoir aux moyens d'établir les relations le plus suivies et le plus fréquentes avec le gouvernement provisoire; j'ai à cet effet nommé mon général-major Pozzi di Borgo pour résider auprès de lui en qualité de commissaire-général. Je vous invite, messieurs, à ajouter foi à tout ce qu'il sera dans le cas de vous dire de ma part, et à me transmettre, par son entremise, toutes les communications que vous auriez à me

faire. Il jouit de toute ma confiance, et la justifiera sûrement encore, dans cette occasion, en ne négligeant aucun moyen de cimenter les rapports de paix et d'amitié si heureusement établis entre la Russie et la France. Recevez, messieurs, l'assurance de toute mon estime.

(Signé) "ALEXANDRE."

"*Paris, le Mars,* (4 *Avril,* 1814.)"

5th. — Walked with mademoiselle D—— out of the Barrière du Trône, within a furlong of which we saw seven dead bodies that had been thrown into the ditches on each side of the Vincennes road, and which were so slightly covered with earth that their hands and knees appeared: their uniforms shewed that they were French. On the same road were several dead horses. We were not allowed to proceed much above a mile on the high road, as Domignie, the governor of Vincennes, refused to surrender that fortress: it was, as well as the village of La Pissotte, which is opposite to it, surrounded by a cordon of Russians, at whom, from time to time, a shot was fired. Taking a circuitous path across the field, we entered into the village on that side, and found it occupied by about sixty Russian soldiers: the inhabitants were removing their goods, fearing they might be burnt in a sortie from the castle; but to prevent a surprise, the

entrance to the streets were barricaded by carts, ladders, &c. &c.

In the Fauxbourg St. Antoine we saw several of marshal Marmont's soldiers, who told us they had been disbanded at Versailles early this morning: some returned to Paris, but the major part were dispersed about the park and gardens, and spread terror round the neighbourhood.

This evening there was a sitting of the gouvernement provisoire in the entresol of Talleyrand's hotel, the room in which all of these meetings were held. Roux Laborie, their assistant secretary, told me that the emperor of Russia was present, who, in consequence of his conversation with marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt), and at the same time influenced by fear of the result of a battle with the troops which remained with Napoleon, announced his determination to abandon the cause of the Bourbons and retreat from Paris, unless they would adopt the regency of Marie-Louise; and it was only by a very eloquent and animated speech from comte Dessoles, commander-in-chief of the Parisian national guard, that he was dissuaded from this purpose. Dessoles said, that if the emperor did abandon Paris, he hoped that he would grant passports to all the Bourbonists to follow him.

There had not been any published news of

the position of the armies until this day, when the following appeared under the head of Paris, the 4th :—

" Le général Russe Kaisaroff a pris aujourd'hui la ville de Melun : il a surpris le camp de cavalerie qui la couvroit, l'a mis entièrement en déroute, et a fait beaucoup de prisoniers."

The duc d'Angoulême's proclamation, dated St. Jean de Luz, 2d February, and that published by him at Bourdeaux on the 15th of March, appeared in the *Moniteur* of this day.

6th. — The erection of machinery for the removal of the statue of Napoleon from the top of the column on the Place Vendôme was begun, and the following bill was stuck about the place : —

" PREFECTURE DE POLICE.

" Le monument élevé sur la Place Vendôme est sous la sauve-garde de la magnanimité de S. M. l'empereur Alexandre et ses alliés. La statue qui la surmonte ne pouvoit y rester : elle en descend pour faire place à celui de la Paix."

Several hundred French prisoners, who had been liberated by the allies, went in bands shouting along the boulevards. Many had white cockades in their hats, which had been given to them by the Bourbonists.

Notwithstanding the emperor Alexander was persuaded not to abandon the Bourbon cause

yesterday evening, at the sitting of the provisional government, yet he was so little inclined to support it, that Roux Laborie told me he went into Talleyrand's bed-room at six in the morning, and expressed a strong desire not to acknowledge the Bourbons, but to adopt the regency. After some conversation with Talleyrand, he went on foot at seven o'clock to the king of Prussia, to consult with him, but the opinion of the king being against the regency, the restoration of the Bourbons was determined.

Abbé de Pradt was present when Laborie mentioned these curious facts, and confirmed them. Michaud, member of the Institute, and author of the "History of the Crusades," who, at this time, was constantly with M. de Talleyrand, also told me the same.

7th. — The fine colossal bronze bust of Buonaparte, by Bartholini, which was over the entrance to the Musée Napoleon, at the Louvre, was taken down.

A scaffold was suspended before the frieze of the portico of the palace of the "corps legislatif," and the inscription, in bronze letters,

"A NAPOLEON LE GRAND,"

was obliterated in a few hours.

8th. — At six in the evening the statue of Napoleon, on the column in the Place Vendôme, was lowered, by means of two capstans. It

remained within the railing, round the pedestal, until the next morning, when it was taken to the place where it was cast, in the Fauxbourg St. Martin.

The government, *pro tempore*, decided as follows:—

"*Paris, le* 8 *Avril*, 1814.

"Le gouvernement provisoire, considérant que le système de diriger exclusivement vers l'état et l'esprit militaire, les hommes, leurs inclinations et leurs talens, a porté le dernier gouvernement à soustraire un grand nombre d'enfans à l'autorité paternelle, ou à celle de leur famille, pour les faire entrer et élever, suivant ses vues particulières dans des établissemens publics; que rien n'est plus attentatoire aux droits de la puissance paternelle, et que, d'un autre côté, cette mesure vexatoire s'oppose directement au développement des différens genres de génie, de talens, et d'esprit, que donne la nature, et dont l'ensemble varié forme la richesse morale publique; qu'enfin, la prolongation d'un pareil désordre serait une véritable contradiction avec les principes d'un gouvernement libre;—

"Arrête, que les formes et la direction de l'éducation des enfans seront rendues à l'autorité des pères et mères, tuteurs, ou familles; et que tous les enfans qui ont été placés dans des écoles, lycées, institutions, et autres établissemens pu-

blics, sans le vœu de leurs parens, ou qui seront réclamés par eux, leur seront sur-le-champ rendus, et remis en liberté.

" Les Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire —

(Signé) " Le Prince de BENEVENTO.
" Le Duc de DALBERG.
" FRANÇOIS DE JAUCOURT.
" Le Général Comte de BEURNONVILLE.
" L'Abbé de MONTESQUIOU.

" Pour copie conforme —

(Signé) " DUPONT (de Nemours) Secrétaire."

The following particulars, illustrative of this species of despotism, were communicated to me by M. Charles Choderlos de Laclos, who was at this time at the Prytanée Militaire, at Laflèche.

Towards the end of the year 1812, Buonaparte ordered the Roman prince Patrizzi to send his two sons, the eldest seventeen, the youngest thirteen years of age, to the Prytanée Militaire, at Laflèche. The prince, their father, offered to endow ten scholarships (*bourses*), for the maintenance of as many scholars, to procure exemption for his sons; but this was refused. He then proposed to form a similar establishment at Rome, but this also was rejected. At the same time, M. de Tournon, the prefect of Rome, received orders to send the youths to Laflèche in a carriage, under a guard of gens d'armes, and the father to a state prison at Marseilles, whilst

his property, real and personal, was put under sequestration. The boys arrived at Laflèche in the spring of 1813. The princess, their mother, with great difficulty, obtained leave to follow them to Laflèche, where, from poverty, she was obliged to live in a garret. These were not the only victims of Napoleon's iron-hearted policy. Ninety other young men, of the most illustrious families in Italy, were immured in this despotic establishment, — sons of the prince of Altieri, of the duke of Brachano, of Palavicini, of Doria, a Genoese descendant of Andrea Doria, &c.

From the Illyrian provinces, one hundred and twenty were sent at the beginning of 1811; fifteen from Holland; and a considerable number of young men, subjects of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine. In all, there were three hundred young men detained as hostages for the fidelity of their parents. They were thus considered, and called by the other boys, natives of the old French provinces. They were obliged to pay 800 francs per annum.

The day after the news arrived of the dethronement of Buonaparte, the governor of the Prytanée gave his scholars leave to depart to their own homes, not troubling himself with any inquiry whether they had the pecuniary means of performing their journey, only that he allowed those whose homes were in districts occupied by the allied army to remain; so that when the

arrêté du gouvernement provisoire arrived at Laflèche, the principal body of the scholars had left the place. The scholars had been latterly without a supply of the necessaries of life at the establishment, which was 200,000 francs in debt, and hence the trades-people refused to furnish their usual supplies. The school was composed of six hundred élèves.

One cause of the establishment being in debt was, that the parents of those pupils who lived in parts of Europe, then the theatre of war, or where the French were no longer the masters, could not or did not send the sums due for the education of their children.

9th. — This and the two preceding days, several hundred soldiers and conscripts were seen in the streets, who were returning to their homes, in consequence of the resolution of the gouvernement provisoire of the 4th April, which authorised them so to do. Most of them were wretched-looking objects — mere phantoms, exhausted by hunger, sickness, and fatigue. Some were obliged to wait two days before the état-major in the Place Vendôme for their *feuilles de route*, without any food, or the means of procuring it, depending on charity for subsistence.

10th, *Easter Sunday*. — Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the infantry of the allied army were drawn up on the northern footway of the boulevards, from the Rue Royale to

the Place de la Bastille. The south side was kept by the national guard. By order of the police, no carriages were allowed to pass the boulevards, and even pedestrians were totally excluded from the Place Louis XV, which was reserved for the troops attending the solemn thanksgiving which the victorious army was there to offer up.

I went to the north-west terrace of the garden of the Tuilleries, whence I had a full view of the whole of the Place Louis XV. In the centre, a little to the eastward of the spot where Louis XVI was executed, a square platform, with a flight of about a dozen steps on each side, was erected, on which was an altar, so placed, that persons before it looked to the south. The national guards kept the avenues leading to the altars.

The first sign of the approaching ceremony was at ten minutes before twelve o'clock, when seven priests of the Greek church, wearing beards, and arrayed in rich copes, slowly crossed the place, and took their station by the altar. At half-past twelve, the allied infantry, twenty-three abreast, marched in by the Rue Royale. They were succeeded by the cavalry, all forming, as they arrived on the place, with the greatest precision, until it was entirely filled. The procession continued without interruption until one o'clock, and was closed by the allied sovereigns, surrounded by a numerous staff, among whom I saw some English officers, in uniforms. Arriving

at the foot of the altar, they all dismounted, and ascended the steps. They, and the whole army, were uncovered; but some of the French national guard kept their hats on. Divine service then began. A most profound and impressive silence reigned among the mighty host during this solemn ceremony, which lasted half an hour. Its conclusion was announced by the discharge of a hundred cannon; of which previous notice had been given in the newspapers, and by placards stuck up by the police, to prevent any alarm. The cannon were placed on the right bank of the river, opposite the corps législatif. The emperor of Russia then returned to his quarters at M. de Talleyrand's, appeared at the window, and was greatly applauded. This day M. Bellart, who drew up the proclamation of the conseil municipal to the citizens of Paris, received an invitation from M. de Talleyrand to dine with him and the emperor of Russia, an honour he did not expect. On being presented, the emperor said to him—"Je désire connoître un homme si profondement vertueux. Dans ma qualité d'étranger, je ne pouvais pas apprécier suffisamment votre mérite; mais je voudrais emporter en Russie dans ma mémoire les traits de votre figure."

I called on the wife of general Letort, who was with Napoleon at Fontainebleau. I met general Sebastiani there, who had this morning

returned from Fontainebleau and given his adhesion to the new order of things.

11th.—Went to the weekly meeting of the first class of the Institute. There were but two members who had mounted white cockades; one was Sage, the mineralogist. The marble statue of Napoleon, by Roland, in his imperial robes, which was in the hall of the public meeting of the Institute, had been removed, and was in a packing-case in the court-yard. This statue was inaugurated on the 3d of October, 1807.

The *Gazette de Santé* (a periodical publication that appears at Paris every ten days) of this day announced that the reigning diseases of the metropolis were the "fièvre d'hôpital," or, as it is generally termed, typhus, and the still more dangerous "pourriture des hôpitaux, ou gangrène humide des plaies," with which *all* the hospitals in Paris were infected; and that a multitude of victims, including many young medical practitioners, are carried off by the same diseases.

Dr. Friedlander, a Prussian physician established at Paris, informed me, that the average deaths of the allied army in the hospitals of Paris was one in twenty per diem, and that there is less mortality among the Russians than the Prussians; that among the French military sick, the deaths were one in sixteen per diem.

After the resolution of the government *pro*

tempore, which authorised all the conscripts and the new-raised battalions, and those composing the levée en masse, to return home, numbers of emaciated lads were seen daily crawling into Paris, and lying extended in the streets, many labouring under nervous fever, the result of grief and fear, which, on their return home, soon left them. Marshal Marmont and several officers told me, that fear increased the effects of epidemical diseases in the army. The French soldiers had suffered dreadfully from cold this campaign, particularly in the night between the 9th and 10th of March, which was so severe that a very considerable number perished. General Letort, who had been in the Moscow campaign, told me that it was his opinion, as well as that of several other officers, that the cold was even greater than at any period of that campaign.

12th.—I went to the upper end of the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and took my station at the intersection of the road to La Villette with that of Pantin, by which monsieur comte d'Artois, lieutenant-général du royaume, was to make his entry into Paris. He had passed the night at Livry at the château of the countess Charles de Damas, where he had arrived from Chalons on the preceding day at three in the afternoon.

From Nôtre Dame by the Rue and Fauxbourg St. Denis, thence by the church of St. Laurent to the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and to the barrier of

Pantin, the streets were lined by the national guard.

About twenty minutes before one o'clock, the coaches of M. de Talleyrand, of the municipal officers of Paris, and the marshals, passed towards the barrière to receive Monsieur. When he arrived at that point, Talleyrand harangued him in the name of the government *pro tempore;* he replied, and then entered the barrière, where he was again harangued by the prefect of the department of the Seine. This procession was bisected at the spot where I was, and its march retarded by a column of about fifteen thousand Russian cavalry, infantry, and artillery, which were marching out of Paris by the Barrière de la Villette. This interruption, which to some might appear ill-timed, delayed the entry until a quarter before two o'clock. I have no doubt this was preconcerted, to impress the minds of the populace that the allied army was to evacuate all Paris at the approach of the Bourbons. The entry of Monsieur was opened by a body of the national guard, their band playing the favourite air of "Vive Henri IV!" then gentlemen on horseback, in the uniform of national guards, but with the addition of high white plumes in their hats. Among them I saw M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Chastenay. This immediately preceded Monsieur, who was dressed in the uniform of the national guard, decorated with the blue riband and medallion of the order of the

St. Esprit. He rode upon a fine white horse, richly caparisoned, and surrounded by a numerous staff, among whom I remarked marshal Oudinot, general Nansoutty, some of the ancient nobility, the duc de Montemart, the duc de Luxembourg, M. Prosper de Crillon, M. Fernand de Chabot, M. de la Bourdonnaye, M. de l'Espinay, in the uniform of Buonaparte's army; several officers of rank in the allied army, and some English; Mr. Henry Seymour, in uniform: another body of cavalry of the national guard followed, and a party of Cossacks closed the procession; the papers of the day declared that *no* foreign troops appeared in the cavalcade. The count was received with more enthusiasm than I had ever seen the French evince on any occasion; yet it was but feeble, and would have been still more so but for the cavalry of the national guard, who waved their swords, and urged by their example the cry of "Vive le roi!" However, I had never before witnessed any thing like the emotions of sensibility which were now displayed. Many persons shed tears.

Monsieur was thus conducted to the metropolitan church of Nôtre Dame, and there received at the great porch by the canons in their copes, who conducted him to his seat under a canopy supported by four priests: a *Te Deum* was then performed.

After the procession had passed I met Mr. L.,

and we were both of opinion, from the manner Monsieur had been received, that the Bourbons could not remain in France six months after the departure of the allied armies.

I went to the Boulevard des Italiens; the road was lined on each side with national guards. At a quarter past five I saw the procession return, in the same order in which it had set out; but from the situation I now occupied, it appeared more splendid, and the acclamations were louder and more general. The windows were crowded with elegantly dressed women, waving their handkerchiefs as it passed along.

Monsieur is a very handsome man; and no one ever gave me a higher idea of a dignified and accomplished cavalier. It is impossible to have saluted a mixed multitude in a manner more flattering to them or to himself; his animated looks were directed to all, and all seemed to sympathise with the delight which radiated from his countenance. Proceeding down the Rue Napoleon, across the Place Vendôme, he arrived by the Rue de l'Echelle at the Château des Tuilleries at ten minutes before six o'clock. At the same instant a white flag was hoisted on the centre pavilion, from whence the tricoloured standard had been so many years displayed. About half an hour afterwards, Monsieur appeared at a window of those apartments of the ground floor lately occupied by the empress Marie-Louise, and re-

ceived the greeting of the multitude. By those persons who were of an age to know his person, the exclamation was general, " C'est lui! c'est bien lui!" But many expressed great astonishment that he should appear older than when they last saw him, (twenty-five years before)!

In the evening a few houses in Paris were illuminated.

This day the emperor of Russia removed from M. de Talleyrand's to the Elysée Bourbon, in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, where he continued to reside during his stay at Paris. The inscription, in bronze letters, " Elysée Napoleon," which was over the entrance, was not erased until four days afterwards.

13th. — I entered into conversation with a black hussar, (death husar,) whom I saw amusing himself with a view of Paris from the brow of Montmartre: he had galloped several leagues that day to feast his eyes with the sight of this detested capital, but had not permission to enter it. This war, he said, was an absolute crusade on the part of the Prussians: men of every class of society, and of the highest rank, even the most learned professors of their universities, had enrolled themselves voluntarily as common soldiers, and determined to die rather than to return home without having secured the liberty of their country, and revenged the insults it had received, by subduing a people whose highest enjoyment they

believed consisted in destroying all that was morally beautiful or desirable. One sentiment alone seemed to animate all the Prussians I conversed with: no individual, whatever his rank in the army, appeared to feel he did, or was more, than another: they told me that those who, from imperious circumstances, were obliged to remain in Prussia, considered it as the greatest misfortune. Of 160,000 men, of which the Prussian army was composed at the battle of Lutzen, in 1813, only one half was alive at the taking of Paris.

During the whole of the campaign, the king of Prussia exposed himself like a common soldier, and remained the last on the field of battle.

About the middle of April, the king of Prussia received the French marshals and generals at his residence in the Hotel of Eugène Beauharnois. He is habitually stiff, and, though a good man, unamiable in his manner; but on this occasion he behaved with great haughtiness, reproaching Clark, duke of Feltre, minister of war to Napoleon, with having put a man to death in Prussia in a most arbitrary manner. To Berthier, prince of Neufchatel, he expressed the hope that he had administered his government of Neufchatel with moderation. He gave his hand to marshal Oudinot, saying, he was very happy in having the opportunity of so doing to a man who had always conducted himself with honour and moderation in Prussia.

14th.—The count d'Artois visited the opera in the Rue Richelieu for the first time: the performance was Œdipe à Colonne, with the ballet of Nina. The stage-box had been prepared for him, and richly hung with blue velvet, embroidered with fleurs-de-lis, and surmounted with the ancient arms of France. He was dressed in the uniform of the national guard, and was most flatteringly received, and on his entrance the curtain immediately drew up. Ten minutes after, the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, entered, and seated themselves in the centre box, the emperor of Austria in the middle, having the emperor Alexander on his right, and the king of Prussia on the left: they were received with a greater affectation of enthusiasm than the count. In the boxes to their right were count de Schwartzenberg, baron Stein, count Nesselrode, and baron Sacken, with lord Burghersh, in the full Windsor uniform. The latter was accompanied by lady Burghersh, who had been with the army the whole campaign, and some English, but she was the only female in the box. In that to the left of the sovereigns were count Metternich and lord Castlereagh. After the conclusion of the first act, the count d'Artois came into the box of the sovereigns, and received general applause: he remained there during the whole of the second act. At the close of the opera, some complimentary couplets were sung, when the count d'Artois and the few

English who were present stood up: this being perceived by a *native* in the pit, he roared out, "Parterre debout, puisque *le roi* y est." The whole house rose, and there seemed a general competition who should be most vociferous in their applause. When the curtain fell, the emperors Alexander and Francis, followed by the king of Prussia, went to the stage-box, to return the count d'Artois' visit, and a greater burst of applause followed this scene than ever I had witnessed in Paris on any occasion. Among the most vociferous were many persons who had for the last twenty years been seen in the anti-chamber of every minister, at the door of all their clerks, dazzling and flattering *la grande nation* with pictures, poems, and dramatic pieces, in adulation of every demagogue and every revolutionary society, and holding up the fallen emperor to the admiration of the universe and the adoration of their country. Those despicable sycophants having gained, by this trade, pensions, ribands, snuff-boxes, and portraits surrounded with diamonds, were now basely and cowardly giving the dying lion a kick, in the hope of having additions to their pensions and new orders, to render their baseness more conspicuous.

Notwithstanding this public display of attention on the part of Alexander to the count d'Artois, he had just inflicted on him a most humiliating insult.

On the count's arrival from exile at Paris, M. de Caulincourt, duke of Vicenza, among other sycophants, presented himself at the Tuilleries to pay his court. On being perceived by the count d'Artois, he addressed him: "M. de Caulincourt, you lay under the imputation of being accessory to a most horrid crime, (meaning the death of the duke d'Enghien): I hope you will be able to justify yourself; but until then I must decline receiving you." Caulincourt immediately repaired to the emperor of Russia, with whom he had long been in great favour, and related to him what had passed. The czar replied, "What ridiculous susceptibility! I am daily surrounded by those who murdered my father, and have not more zealous servants than they are: but make yourself easy; I will arrange this for you." He invited the count d'Artois to dinner, and seated him on his right, placing Caulincourt to the right of the count. This fact I had from several Bourbonists, one of whom was present, and two others said they heard it related by the count d'Artois, himself.

15th.—The north side of the boulevards, from the Place de la Bastille to the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, was lined with the troops of the allies, and the south side, in the same interval, with national guards, for the military ceremony of the entry of the emperor of Austria into Paris from Dijon. The sovereigns, the crown prince of Sweden, and the count d'Artois, went to the

Barrière de Marengo (now Charenton) to receive him, which he entered between nine and ten in the morning. I saw him pass on the Boulevard de Montmartre at a quarter before eleven. He was in a white uniform, having on his right the count d'Artois, in the uniform of the national guard; on his left rode Bernadotte, crown prince of Sweden, in a blue uniform; the emperor of Russia, in green and gold; and the king of Prussia, in blue and silver. They were followed by a numerous staff, among whom was the archduke Constantine of Russia. The emperor Francis proceeded to the ancient Hôtel, Charost, Fauxbourg St. Honoré, where he took up his quarters.

16th.—I was in the picture-gallery at Malmaison this morning, in conversation with the empress Josephine, who had just returned from Navarre. The last time I had the honour of conversing with her, in March, she expressed herself much dissatisfied with Napoleon, saying, "this man has left me without any money; my income is in arrear." But now all her affection seemed to have returned; she expressed the deepest commiseration at his fate. She appeared very much affected at a paragraph she had just read in this morning's *Journal des Débats;* it was, "La mère de prince Eugène est de retour à la Malmaison." "What does this mean? I have a name," said she; "I was crowned, sat upon the throne; I am honoured, protected by the emperor of Russia;

for as soon as he was master of the bridge of Neuilly, he sent a safe-guard to Malmaison." She had scarcely uttered these words, when, to her apparent astonishment, the emperor of Russia was announced: he came immediately into the gallery. With her usual self-command and elegance of manner, she expressed herself much flattered by his visit. He replied, that it was a homage gratifying to his feelings; for that, in entering every house, and in every cottage, he heard the praise of her goodness. I retired into a further part of the gallery, and heard no more of their conversation, which at first appeared serious. A few minutes after, they went into the grounds. During their walk, Queen Hortensia arrived in haste from Paris. She joined her mother and the emperor, and I saw them walking in the gardens, each holding his arm.

Lord Beverley breakfasted with her at Malmaison a few days after, with his sons, the hon. Algernon and the hon. colonel Henry Percy: the two first had been détenus, and the latter a prisoner of war. She then said, that since the fall of Napoleon, the English were the only persons who had the generosity to speak of him as he deserved.

The emperor of Russia dined with her at Malmaison on Friday the 22d of April, and on Tuesday the 10th of May.

On the 24th of May, the empress was indisposed with a sore throat. The king of Prussia

dined at Malmaison on this day, and advised her to keep her room; but she persisted in doing the honours of her table, and retired late, as there was an evening party. She became worse. On the 26th the emperor of Russia paid her a visit, and finding her dangerously ill, sent his physician. On the 27th a blister was applied; but it was too late. On this day, Rédouté, the celebrated flower-painter, being at Malmaison, she insisted on seeing him, but told him not to approach her bed, as he might catch her sore throat. She spoke of two plants which were then in flower, and desired him to make drawings of them, expressing a hope that she should soon be well enough to visit her plants.

In the night between the 28th and the 29th, she fell into a lethargic slumber, which lasted five hours.

On the 29th, at ten in the morning, she said to Bourdois, the physician who attended her, "As my daughter is a devotee, it will please her if I have a priest; and as it is a matter of perfect indifference, it can do me no harm." Between this and the arrival of the confessor, Mrs. Edat, her English housekeeper, who had lived with her many years, came into the room with the empress's little dog, which she put upon the bed. The empress caressed it, and desired Mrs. Edat to take care of it.

A few minutes before twelve at noon, this ex-

cellent and accomplished woman* expired, of what the French term an "*esquinancie gangreneuse.*" On Thursday the 2d of June, her funeral took place with great pomp, in the parish church of Ruelle, at twelve at noon. Her two grandsons walked as chief mourners, they alone wearing mantles. In the procession were generals Sacken, Czernichef, Nesselrode, several other generals of the allied army, some French marshals and generals, and all those who had formerly been in her service, or who considered themselves under personal obligations to her. There were some Russian cavalry and the national guards of Ruelle. This sad procession moved down the avenue from the house to the St. Germain's road, then turned up

* Marie Josephine Rose, daughter of Joseph Gaspard de Tascher, by Rose Claire des Verges de Sanois, his wife, was born in the island of Martinique, on the 23d of June, 1763, (as appears from the register of her marriage, now at Pontoise, in the department of Seine et Oise.) She married viscomte Beauharnois, at Noisy le Grand, in the department of Seine et Oise, on the 13th of December, 1779. By the viscomte, who was guillotined during the reign of terror, she had two children, Eugène and Hortense. She married Napoleon Buonaparte at Paris on the 9th of March, 1796; but in the register of this marriage it was inserted, that she was born the 23d of June, 1767, and also that he was born on the 5th of February, 1768; but this also is an error. Napoleon, at the epoch of his divorce, sent an aide-de-camp to M. Duclos, chief keeper of the archives of the état-civile at Paris, for this part of the register, which never was returned.

that which led to the church of Ruelle, where the funeral discourse was delivered by M. de Baral, archbishop of Tours. The bishops of Evreux and Versailles were present.

21st.—Went to a public meeting of the second class of the Institute, or, as it is now called, l'Académie Française, in the great hall of the palace of the Institute, for the purpose of awarding the prize for the French essay. On this occasion the large stove, which was in the centre of the floor under the dome, was removed, and its place occupied by crimson and gold arm-chairs, intended for the sovereigns. At about ten minutes before three, a roll of drums announced the arrival of the allied monarchs and the emperor of Russia, conducted by the president Lairetelle, and Sicard, perpetual secretary to this class. The king of Prussia and his three sons were immediately afterwards ushered in; and being seated opposite the president, the latter began a discourse by saying—that when, nearly a century ago, Peter the Great came to seek civilisation in France, the French were far from imagining it would ever be repaid with such usurious interest by his magnanimous successor: he then prated about their "*adorable*" language having spread its conquests to the borders of the Danube, the Oder, and the Neva.

The prize medal was then presented to M. Villemaine, for his essay on the proposed question, "Des avantages et des inconvéniens de la

critique littéraire," who prefaced the reading of it by a complimentary address to the sovereigns, which was very superior to that by the president. Having concluded his essay, which was a heavy tax on the patience of his auditors, the emperor Alexander paid him some compliments; and the meeting terminated as it began, by shouting and clapping of hands.

The same day the duke of Berri arrived at Paris, by the Barrière de Clichy, from Rouen.

23d. — Price of stocks: — 5 per cents, 63 francs, 50 centimes; bank actions, 950 francs.

29th. — I heard "God save the King" played on a barrel organ in the streets of Paris.

Towards the middle of April, the number of French officers and soldiers who had successively arrived at Paris having become considerable, and seeing the quiet behaviour of the allied troops, their natural impertinence broke out, and they became very insolent, particularly to the well-disciplined and patient Russians: this induced governor Sacken to order all the officers of the allied army, who were not called to Paris on business, to join their respective corps. Similar measures were taken by the French government, and the national guard received orders to take up all persons who broke the peace, and the inhabitants of Paris were forbidden to interfere; but this was disregarded, and the French con-

tinued their aggressions, and attempted to tear out the branches of trees which the allies always wore in their caps. The quarrels continued to increase, the inhabitants taking part with the soldiers. On Friday, 29th April, there was much fighting in the garden of the Palais Royal, and several persons were wounded on both sides: in consequence of this, on Sunday, the 1st of May, there was a patrole of thirty Russian soldiers, and as many national guards, stationed in those gardens, who walked about in files of fifteen; and the guard-house in the Rue des Bons Enfans was occupied conjointly with national guards and Russians.

When, after the 4th of May, the allies were so foolish as to suffer Louis XVIII to review the French troops in the court-yard of the Tuilleries, and thus permitted a great number of French soldiers to assemble in Paris, they not only tore the branches of verdure from the caps of the allies, but tried to tear the silver medals, of the Moscow campaign, from the breasts of the Russian military.

EVENTS OF MAY 1814.

May 2d. — Louis XVIII arrived at the château of St. Ouen,* near the village of that name, on the right bank of the Seine, about three miles from Paris, at a quarter-past six in the evening. He immediately sat down to dinner, during which a crowd of all ranks was admitted to see him. In the evening he received deputations from the senate and other bodies. Here he slept.

3d. — I joined a crowd in the Fauxbourg St. Denis, who were eagerly pressing forward to see the king's entry into Paris, whose declaration had just been stuck up, dated St. Ouen, May 2, 1814, the nineteenth year of his reign, in which, styling himself king of France and Navarre, he refused to accept the constitution of the senate of the 6th ultimo, though the 29th article says, that when he has signed and accepted it, he is to be proclaimed king of the French. This constitution Talleyrand sent to the crafty, proud exile in England by his brother, count Bozun de Perigord, an easy simpleton, and who was as deaf as

* Since pulled down, and a villa built near the site by Louis XVIII for his mistress, madame du Cayla, formerly Zoe Talon.

a post. The choice of such a person for the embassy shewed the intentions of the unprincipled politician. The declaration was glanced at *en passant* by the herd; few stopped to read it, still fewer seemed to comprehend how completely they had been duped, or that they and their country had become the legitimate property of a family whom, until within the last month, few had ever heard spoken of but with contempt. I continued my walk through La Chapelle to the plain St. Denis, the whole way being crowded with spectators, exposed to a cloudless sky and the temperature of the dog-days, the effect of which on a large, long tumulus by the side of the road, containing the putrescent bodies of some hundreds of those who fell on the 30th of March, was most horrible. At between eleven and twelve, a barouche, drawn by eight horses, and containing the king and the duchess of Angoulême, entered the St. Denis road from that of St. Ouen; but the clouds of dust raised by the numerous cavalry, carriages, and people, were such as to render a sight of the objects of curiosity impossible. I then struck across the fields, entered Paris by the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and from thence gained the Fauxbourg St. Denis, near the barrier, where I obtained a very good view of them. There was but little demonstration of joy on the occasion, either on the part of the royal personages, or on that of the

people: the astonishment at the little English bonnet worn by the duchess, which presented a remarkable contrast with the very large ones then the fashion at Paris, seemed to overpower every other feeling.

The procession proceeded down the Rue St. Denis to Nôtre Dame. The houses being all hung with drapery, composed of sheets, window and bed-curtains, with scraps of coloured paper, flowers, &c. stuck upon them, produced a most whimsical and ridiculous appearance. After the *Te Deum*, the procession proceeded to the Tuilleries, where it arrived at twenty minutes after four o'clock.

6th. — Price of stocks: 5 per cents, 62 francs 20 centimes; bank actions, 962, 50.

Two caricatures were made on this occasion, and clandestinely sold. One representing the fat old monarch returning to France on horseback, behind a Cossack, to whom he was clinging, galloping over slain national guards, with burning villages seen in the distance. The other represented the château of the Tuilleries, with two old eagles and a young one flying away, while a flock of five geese were seen waddling in at the entrance.

8th. — There was another review by the king of the *ci-devant garde impériale* and the national guard, in the court-yard of the Tuilleries. This was followed, in the evening, by a very serious

affray at the Courfeille, near the gates of Paris, at a public-house, where a party of the French attacked some Austrians. Several were killed on both sides; among them were some girls who had been dancing with the allies. In consequence of this, the greater number of the French soldiers were marched out of Paris.

10th.—There was a patrol of thirty Russian grenadiers in the garden of the Palais Royal, to keep the peace; but this did not put a stop to the quarrels: the insolence of the French daily increased, and the tearing of the sprigs of verdure (mostly consisting of box or elm) out of the caps of the allied soldiers, continued. General orders to put a stop to it were stuck up: the following are extracts, and the fifth article is a severe commentary on the boasted humanity and gallantry of the French: —

[The Order commands the national guard, in case any quarrel takes place in the streets of Paris, to arrest both parties, allies as well as French; and informs the public, that these branches had been worn by the Austrians when in the field, for time immemorial.]

"GARDE NATIONALE DE PARIS,

"ÉTAT-MAJOR-GÉNÉRAL.

"*Ordre du Jour, Paris, Mai* 19, 1814.

"En effet, il n'y a qu'une vanité puerile, ou une

susceptibilité ridicule, qui puisse s'offencer de cette verdure.

" Article V. Les vieillards, les femmes, les enfans, ont droit aux égards dus au sexe et à l'âge. C'est un préjugé de croire qu'un ton dur et sec, ou des actes de violence, donnent un air plus militaire.

" Le Général Commandant-en-Chef, DESSOLES.

" SACKEN, Gouverneur de Paris, pour les Puissances Alliées.

" Général Comte de ROCHECHOUART, Commandant de Paris, pour l'Empereur des Russies.

" Général Baron HERZOGENBOURG, Commandant de Paris, pour l'Empereur d'Autriche.

" Général Comte GOLTZ, Commandant de Paris, pour le Roi de Prusse.

" Comte PICART, Commandant de Paris, pour la France."

27th. — The duchess of Angoulême, accompanied by the countess de Béarn, madame de Damas, and mademoiselle de Choissy, went this morning, at half-past seven o'clock, to visit the grave of her royal parents in the no-longer-used Cimitière de la Madelène, situated behind the house of an old advocate named Ducloseau,

in the Rue d'Anjou St. Honoré, No. 48, and who had planted a weeping willow on the grave.*

The duchess, on arriving, threw herself prostrate on the grave, and remained in silence for some minutes; then, rising on her knees, she pronounced an extempore prayer.

In this burial-ground were interred the bodies of one hundred and thirty-three persons, who were crushed to death in the Rue Royale, returning from the fire-works let off on occasion of the marriage of the dauphin and dauphiness, afterwards Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

The duke of Angoulême made his entry into Paris by the Barrière du Maine, and arrived at the Tuilleries by the Rue du Bac at six in the evening.

30th. — Peace signed.

31st. — Cannon announced the peace: this produced no sensation among the people; there was not a house illuminated in the evening.

EVENTS OF JUNE 1814.

June 1st. — Peace proclaimed.

2d. — The gates of Paris, which till this day had been held by the allied troops, were delivered

* A chapel has since been erected on the spot.

up to the national guards; and the functions of general Sacken, as governor of Paris for the allies, ceased.

The emperor of Russia quitted Paris.

3d.—The emperor of Austria left Paris.

The baggage-waggons of the Austrian army left Paris; an uninterrupted line of these immense wicker vehicles went along the boulevards from seven in the morning until ten.

Price of stocks,—5 per cents, 61 francs 65 centimes; bank actions, 1027 francs 50 cents.

4th.—The king of Prussia left Paris.

Shortly after the return of the king, Hamlet was performed at the Théâtre Français. The following line was received with great applause:—

" L'Angleterre en forfaits trop souvent fût féconde."

This was the first time that hatred was publicly shewn to the English, as the same line had been often repeated before without notice. But every description of people now began to feel dissatisfaction; the young men, who, during Buonaparte's reign, fearing the conscription, were violent against him, no sooner found their personal danger over, than national vanity prevailed; they detested the Bourbons for having peaceable dispositions, and the allies for having conquered them; though this they never would allow, but always exclaimed that they were betrayed and sold. Those

who were inclined to a military life complained, because they saw that they must work, instead of enjoying occasional indolence as officers; the old military, because the prospect of living by plunder was over; clerks in the public offices, who were dismissed in consequence of the diminution of territory; the emigrants and Bourbonists because they were not instantly put into power, and the mass of the people lest they should; the court tabbies, because that hoops, lappets, and the old court dresses, were not already commanded to be worn, and the youthful beauties for fear they should; but the serious apprehension of the influence of the priests pervaded every class.

11th.—On this day appeared the first *official*, but full demonstration of Talleyrand's celebrated observation, that the Bourbons, during their twenty-five years' exile, " n'avoient rien appris, comme ils n'avoient rien oublié;" on being suddenly and unexpectedly placed at the head of the French nation, they would be totally ignorant that, during their absence, its manners, customs, and prejudices, had totally changed. The directeur-général of the police, comte Beugnot, published an ordonnance, dated the 7th, for the strict observance of Sundays and holydays, which was drawn up upon the model of that of the 8th of November, 1782. It consisted of thirteen articles: the fifth forbids coffee-houses to be

opened on those days between the hours of eight in the morning and twelve at noon, under the penalty of three hundred francs.

Book-stalls are forbidden on Sundays. Shops are ordered to be shut, under penalty of two hundred francs, with the exception of apothecaries', which are allowed to be half open.

The article relative to coffee-houses excited the greatest dissatisfaction, as in Paris the number of persons, and even families, who breakfast in those houses, from necessity as well as pleasure, particularly on Sundays, is incalculable. The whole proceeding produced universal detestation and contempt; several caricatures were published; one in particular, called "Un déjeûné selon l'ordonnance," represented a person at the half-open door of an apothecary's shop, through which he was in the act of having a glyster administered, and several others waiting their turn for the injection. *Ordonnance* in French also means a physician's prescription.

12th, *Sunday*. — The procession of the Fête Dieu (Corpus Christi) appeared in the streets of Paris for the first time since the revolution! This, which is the most splendid pantomime of catholicism, was, like all other religious ceremonies, forbidden to appear in the streets of any town where there were churches for both catholic and protestant religions, it being expected that every person should kneel when the host passes; this part

of worship was on the first Sunday attempted to be enforced by some of the most zealous national guards, with the butt ends of their muskets: it so incensed the people, that on the second Sunday, the 19th, when the procession descended the steps of the church of St. Roche, in the Rue St. Honoré, it was received by the crowd with hooting, and such a shower of mud and other missiles, that the priests and the faithful were obliged to take refuge in the church. In some other parishes it met with nearly a similar reception, and was discontinued in consequence.

26th, *Sunday.*—The shops continued open in defiance of the ordonnance of the director-general of the police.

Thus began a series of follies on the part of the Bourbons, the ancient noblesse, and the priests, which brought on a state of feeling in the whole nation, that produced the most extraordinary event in ancient or modern history, viz. the

JOURNEY OF NAPOLEON FROM THE COAST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN TO PARIS, ON HIS RETURN FROM THE ISLAND OF ELBA, — an event as honourable to the French nation as his repression of the spirit of liberty which thus placed him a second time on the throne was disgraceful, and which met with its merited reward.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

SECOND PART

OF

MEMORABLE EVENTS.

JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON FROM TROYES TO ELBA.

HAVING concluded the portion of this journal which detailed the events in the French metropolis, and the diplomatic manœuvres of the allied powers, during the first six months of 1814, I proceed to narrate the two most important concurrent events of the same period—viz. NAPOLEON'S JOURNEY FROM TROYES TO ELBA, and THE REGENCY AT BLOIS. The following narrative will embrace the most complete account of the extraordinary "affair" of De Maubreuil that has been made public; the chief facts of which mysterious history transpired in the French tribunals: the implications against certain crowned heads do not originate with the present narrator.

The ensuing pages contain an industrious and faithful collection of historical facts, which have been derived from peculiar sources, and not from the personal observation of the Journalist, as was the case in the preceding part of this Journal.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON FROM TROYES TO ELBA.

On the 29th of March, at night, the emperor Napoleon arrived at Troyes from Doulevent, which he quitted early in the morning. On the 30th, at ten in the morning, he left Troyes, on horseback, attended by general Bertrand, grand maréchal du palais; Caulincourt, duke of Vicenza, grand écuyer; monsieur St. Aignan, two aides-de-camp, and two orderly officers, (officiers d'ordonnance,) one of whom, captain Lamezan, gave me (June 29, 1814) the following details of the journey. They went the first ten leagues on the same horses, in little more than two hours. The emperor did not mention whither he was going. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock, where, having rested half an hour, they continued the journey in a wretched carriole,* and arrived, at one in the morning, at the village of Fromanteau, generally called the Cour de France, the second post on the road from Paris to Fontainebleau, and distant from the former four and a half post leagues: it is between the ninth and tenth *borne*. Here they met the artillery, at the head of the column of troops which was evacuating the capital. General Belliard accompanied it, and announced the fate of the day to the emperor, who received the news with the most perfect calmness, walked on the

* A sort of carriage without springs.

road in conversation with the general for about twenty minutes, sent Caulincourt to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, then, entering the post-house, he called for his maps, and devoted himself in marking positions on them, by means of pins with variously coloured heads, (which he habitually made use of, to represent different armies,) until near three o'clock in the morning of the 31st, when he set off in a carriage for Fontainebleau, and on arriving there, shut himself up in his closet for the remainder of the day. The duke of Basano was the only one of his ministers who was with him.

In the evening the emperor sent for marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa, who, on evacuating Paris, had stationed himself at Essonnes, where his army began to arrive on the 31st, at eight in the morning, and continued to march in until eleven: they ascended the hill to the south of the town, and took up their positions on its brow, extending up the valley of the Essonne, from Plessis-chenet westward to Mennecy. The duke arrived at Fontainebleau at between two and three in the morning of the 1st of April, and gave the emperor a detailed account of what passed at Paris on the 30th. Napoleon asked him if his army was in a good position, and was answered in the affirmative. Notwithstanding this, he directed the marshal to entrench his camp. The duke told me he appeared undetermined whether to retire on the

banks of the Loire, or give battle to the allies near Paris. In the afternoon he went to inspect the position of Marmont's army at Essonnes, with which the marshal said he appeared to be satisfied, and determined to remain there and manœuvre, with a view to disengage Paris and give battle. With the greatest coolness he formed plans for the execution of these objects; but while thus employed, the officers, whom the marshal had left at Paris to deliver up that city to the allies, arrived, and informed them of the events of the day. The emperor, on hearing this, became furious: the plan he had just been forming, and all prudent measures, were instantly at an end. He raved about punishing the rebellious city, taking it by storm, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and giving it up to pillage by his soldiers. With this resolution he separated from Marmont, and returned to Fontainebleau.

During the time Napoleon was at Essonnes, Caulincourt, apparently much dejected, arrived at Fontainebleau from Paris.

Marshal Marmont told me, that receiving at this time a communication of what was going forward in the senate, he began seriously to reflect, that should Buonaparte, by gaining a battle, obtain the means of exercising his fury on Paris, the allies would not by that be destroyed; and as their ultimate success, from numerical

force, was certain, that by his declaring for the senate, there would be a standard of military defection raised, and thus the imperial army so much diminished, that resistance would be deemed useless. He therefore made arrangements to desert the cause of Napoleon, who, even with Marmont's army, had not more than 30,000 men.

The head of the advanced column of the army, which Napoleon had left at Troyes, arrived at Fontainebleau at eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April: the rest followed in the course of a few hours, having, as general Letort informed me, marched sixty leagues in two days and a half.

On Saturday, the 2d, the emperor assembled his marshals and generals, to whom he communicated what had taken place at Paris on the entrance of the allies, at the same time enjoining them not to disclose these events to the army. He then reviewed, in the great court of the château, the second and seventh corps of the army, and after passing through the ranks, finding them full of enthusiasm, ordered the officers to make known the capitulation of Paris; and desiring the officers and under-officers of his guard to form a circle round him, and addressing them in a very energetic manner, he said, that "the enemy had stolen three days' march upon them, and had arrived at Paris. I have offered the emperor Alexander peace, purchased by great sacrifices—France, with its ancient limits, and to

renounce all the conquests made since the revolution. Not only has he refused, but he has listened to the suggestions of a faction, composed of emigrants whom I have pardoned, and persons whom I have enriched, who, on his entrance, encircled the emperor of Russia, and by their perfidious insinuations obtained his permission to assume the white cockade. But," continued Napoleon, " we will preserve our own: in a few days I will march upon Paris, and prove to them we will be masters on our own territory, and capable of defending our cockade and our independence. Je compte sur vous. Ai-je tort?" " Paris! Paris! Paris! was the yell which burst from all the ranks; and the most savage zeal was expressed to march, with the avowed purpose of storming the metropolis, and slaughtering all the inhabitants who should not declare for *their* emperor.

During the night, the superior officers, instead of retiring to rest, deliberated among themselves on the probable effects of this determination of Napoleon. The city, doomed to destruction, contained the habitations of the parents, wives, families, and friends of many of them; its magnificence was the pride of their country; and even should he succeed in retaking, and wreaking his fury on it, no other result would be obtained than the gratification of his personal vengeance; and that, so far from terminating the war, it would

only be the means of removing its horrors into other parts of France which had not yet experienced them. The ardent desire the soldiers had shewn to rush on to the plunder of the capital contributed not a little to increase their alarm. These considerations determined them *not* to march against Paris; and in the morning of the 3d, some of them intimated this to the emperor, who saw that indecision had supplanted the ardour of the preceding day in nearly the whole army.

Comte Letort, general of division of the dragoons of the imperial guard, assured me, it was the general opinion at Fontainebleau, that if Buonaparte, instead of announcing his intention to the army, and giving them time for deliberation, had, on forming his determination, marched them to within three or four leagues of Paris, and there informed them what had taken place, and proposed instantly storming the city, they would have rushed on and perished in the ruins. This attack of Paris was to have been made on the 5th.

4th. — Orders were given to transfer the imperial head-quarters to a place nearer Paris, between Ponthierry and Essonnes.

The *Moniteur* of the preceding day, containing the decision of the senate, and the formation of a government, *pro tempore*, was received this morning at Fontainebleau; when the

marshals Ney, Macdonald, and Oudinot agreed, that after the parade, which took place daily at noon in the Cour du Cheval Blanc, the emperor should be made acquainted with these events. Ney, accordingly, undertook the task, and, accompanied by the other two marshals, followed the emperor to his closet, where he made known to him the decree of the senate, which proclaimed the forfeiture (déchéance) of the throne; and, at the same time, declared it was their determination to adhere to the decision of the government at Paris. Napoleon, though he had during the night received the papers by express from marshal Marmont, affected to disbelieve the news. "C'est faux!" was his immediate reply. Ney then produced the paper, and advised him to acquiesce and abdicate. Napoleon took the *Moniteur*, feigned to read, turned pale, and appeared much agitated, (but did not shed tears as the newspapers reported.) He seemed not to know in what manner to act; alternately cajoling, and haughtily threatening them for rebelling against him. Ney told him he might be certain they had not proceeded so far without being determined not to recede. Napoleon said, the army would remain faithful to him; but Ney replied, they would follow their generals. He then asked: "Que voulez-vous?" Ney answered, "Il n'y a que l'abdication qui puisse vous tirer de là." The emperor proposed a

regency, securing to his son, when of age, succession to the throne. During this conference, marshal Lefevre came in; and upon the emperor's expressing astonishment at what had been announced to him, said, in a rough manner, "you see what has resulted from not listening to the advice of your friends to make peace; you remember the communication I made to you lately, therefore you may think yourself well off that affairs have terminated as they have." After a discussion, which lasted till late in the afternoon, Napoleon drew up the following act:—

"Les puissances alliées, ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoleon étoit le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur Napoleon, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il est prêt à descendre du trône, à quitter la France, et même la vie, pour le bien de la patrie, inseparable des droits de son fils, de ceux de la régence de l'imperatrice, et du maintien des lois de l'empire.

"Fait en notre palais de Fontainebleau, le 4 Avril, 1814. "NAPOLEON."

This declaration having been transcribed by a secretary, marshals Macdonald and Ney, with Caulincourt, were deputed to convey it to Paris. The marshals even promised, that if they could not obtain this by treaty, to return to him and try to procure it by force of arms.

At this time, there were four corps d'armée at Fontainebleau. The corps of marshal Oudinot, duke of Reggio, composed of six thousand men; those of marshals Ney and Macdonald, and general Girard, forming together six thousand more; and the old imperial guard, amounting to between six and seven thousand. That these troops formed the total force that remained with Napoleon, was confirmed to me by many persons who were at Fontainebleau.

Late in the evening, some officers of Oudinot's corps observed gens-d'armes lurking about the duke's quarters. They communicated this circumstance to him, and their suspicions that these fellows were watching an opportunity for executing some secret order against him. Oudinot went immediately to Buonaparte, declaring to him what had been observed, and boldly advised him to desist from such practices, as the evil might be retorted upon himself. Napoleon flew into a passion, and called Oudinot *un misérable;* who replied, that, as he was no longer his sovereign, he would not put up with such language. "Vous êtes un ingrat," exclaimed Napoleon. The duke spurned at the accusation, at the same time declaring that he had served him faithfully as long as it was his duty so to act.

In the night, colonel Gourgaud, who had been sent to Essonnes with orders from Napoleon, arrived in haste with the intelligence that Mar-

mont had quitted his post, and that his troops were then marching through the Russian army without molestation. In consequence of this movement, the road to Fontainebleau was left open to the allies. The convention with Marmont was signed by him and prince Schwartzenberg, at the village of Chevilly, to the east of Bourg la Reine, on the 4th.

5th. — The emperor Napoleon appeared on the parade; but finding a marked indifference on the part not only of the officers but even the troops, he retired in about ten minutes to the palace, and appeared no more before the army as their master.

Oudinot, from motives of personal safety, as well as from apprehension that the imperial guard might attempt to seduce the rest of the army, marched the latter towards Essonnes.

6th. — The deputation returned from Paris at between twelve and one in the morning, when marshal Ney informed the emperor, that in consequence of Marmont's defection, the allies would not listen to the proposed terms; that an unconditional abdication of the throne was required of him; and that *his personal safety* depended on this measure.* This, for some time, Napoleon per-

* Napoleon's personal danger was far greater than a brave soldier like Ney could possibly have contemplated, as *De Maubreuil's mission* will shew. I questioned, in 1819, M. Roux

sisted in refusing to accede to; at length he inquired whither he was expected to go? "To the Isle of Elba, and with a pension of two mil-

Laborie, secretary to the gouvernement provisoire, relative to this mysterious affair, with which I became acquainted from being present at the pleadings in the courts of justice at Paris in 1817. He admitted the intention of having *Napoleon and his son murdered;* and that De Maubreuil, from his extravagant conduct on the day of the entrance of the allied army into Paris, was deemed a very likely person to undertake and execute the mission. He was, therefore, sent for by Talleyrand, and M. Roux Laborie was present at the interview between them; at which it was proposed, by authority of the provisional government, that Maubreuil should form a gang of fifty men for the accomplishment of the scheme; five hundred thousand francs were offered as the recompense; the whole of which sum was to be paid to the survivors, even should but one remain after perpetrating the deed. To this proposition, he said, De Maubreuil acceded, and returned on the 13th of April to inform him that he had completed his troop, and was ready to set out; but he stated, that as Buonaparte had signed his abdication, his murder was no longer necessary. This is Laborie's account; a man who, at the same time, vaunted the excellence of his memory, which he said was so tenacious that he never forgot the date of any action of his life, nor the most minute circumstances of the event, even to the furniture of the room and colour of the waistcoats of the persons present.

Now for the other statement, which is the result of what I heard at the trials, and which proves, from the dates of the orders given by the different ministers, &c., that Napoleon's abdication *did not put an end* to the plots for his assassination. Jaques Marie Armand Guerry de Maubreuil, marquis d'Orvalt, is of an ancient and noble family of Brittany, twenty-two of whom had been killed fighting in the Bourbon cause. His

lions of francs." This, he said, was too much; for, since I am to become a simple soldier, a Louis d'or per diem is sufficient. Finding also

father, who also was killed, had for his second wife the sister of the celebrated Messrs. de la Rochejaquellin; he is now thirty years old, and was in the army of La Vendée when he was only fifteen and a half. He was in Napoleon's army in the peninsular war, where, for having saved the life of the colonel of his regiment, he received the decoration of the legion of honour. In consequence of being sent for by Talleyrand, De Maubreuil waited on him at seven in the evening, and was received with great politeness; Laborie also was in the room. Talleyrand stated to him, that there could be no safety for those who had espoused the cause of the Bourbons, or tranquillity for France or Europe, while Napoleon was suffered to exist; that although he was allowed the island of Elba and the title of emperor, in order to pacify Austria, yet the gouvernement provisoire and the emperor of Russia had determined on the destruction of him and of all his family; and that the king of Rome was to be carried to a place which should be named. For the execution of this plan he offered him the title of duke, the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, the governorship of a province, and two hundred thousand francs a year for life. Maubreuil replied, he would consider on the means he could find for executing the project, and give him an answer the next day; he immediately went to his relations, M. de St. Aignan and M. de Caulincourt, to whom he divulged the whole conversation. They advised him to feign acquiescence, lest on his refusal some one should be found to execute it. He therefore waited on Talleyrand according to appointment, and said he accepted the mission. Talleyrand then introduced him to the emperor of Russia, by whom he was most graciously received; and the manner of executing their project being discussed, it was agreed that Napoleon should be murdered as he crossed the Fontainebleau forest, on his

that the army would not listen to his proposals of uniting all the forces, and going either to the banks of the Loire or to Italy, he wrote his second

way to Elba; and that the king of Rome was to be carried off on his way from Rambouillet, which offered greater difficulties, as there was a probability that he and his mother would have a considerable Austrian escort. On quitting Talleyrand, he went to a royalist club, held at M. Vantaux's, a man of a good family, but necessitous and unprincipled. He there announced, that he was charged by the gouvernement provisoire with a mission of such importance, that he was authorised to confer the rank of colonel on those persons he employed and with whose conduct he was satisfied. On being questioned as to the nature of the enterprise, he replied he was not at liberty to divulge it. M. Dasies, a gentleman about twenty-eight years old, at once offered to join him. Having completed his troop, he waited on Talleyrand; and on the 17th of April received his full instructions, and permission to distribute as much of the treasure the imperial family was carrying off with them as he thought proper among his associates. Maubreuil mentioned, that the queen of Westphalia had among her trinkets a miniature of a lady with whom he had formerly been connected, and which he was desirous of possessing. "Take it," said Talleyrand, "and any thing else you think proper, so that you do but execute the grand object of your mission!" The orders, signed by the different authorities, were then delivered to him—one signed by the minister of police, Angles; a second by the minister of war, count Dupont; a third by the director of post-horses, Bourienne; a fourth by the Russian baron, Sacken; and a fifth by the Prussian baron, de Brokenhausen. Maubreuil had official duplicates of these orders, to be provided against accident; and Dasies had other copies, in case they were obliged to separate in the execution of their project.

act of abdication in the following words, which was agreed to; and finally signed on the 11th :—

" Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que

Copy of the Orders that were read at De Maubreuil's Trial.

I.

" Ministère de la Police-générale.— Il est ordonné à toutes les autorités chargées de la police générale de France, aux commissaires généraux, spéciaux, et autres, d'obéir aux ordres que M. de Maubreuil leur donnera, de faire et d'exécuter à l'instant même tout ce qu'il prescrira, M. de Maubreuil étant chargé d'une *mission secrète* de la plus *haute importance.*

" Le Commissaire-Provisoire au Département de la
" Police-générale,
" L. S. (Signé) ANGLES.

" *Paris*, 16 *Avril*, 1814.

" Commissariat de la Police-générale."

II.

" Ministère de la Guerre.—Il est ordonné à toutes les autorités militaires, d'obéir aux ordres qui leur seront donnés par M. de Maubreuil, lequel est autorisé à les requérir, et en disposer selon qu'il jugera convenable, étant chargé d'une *mission secrète.* M.M. les commandants des corps veilleront à ce que les troupes soient mises sur le champ à sa disposition, et qu'il n'éprouve aucun retard pour l'exécution des ordres dont il est chargé pour le service de sa majesté Louis XVIII.

" Le Ministre de la Guerre,
" L. S. (Signé) Le Général Comte DUPONT.

" *Paris*, 16 *Avril*, 1814."

III.

" Direction-générale des Postes et Relais de France.— Le directeur-général des postes ordonne aux maitres de postes de

l'empereur Napoleon étoit le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur Napoleon, fidèle à son serment, déclare

fournir à l'instant à M. de Maubreuil, chargé d'une *importante mission*, la quantité de chevaux qui lui sera nécessaire, et de veiller à ce qu'il n'éprouve aucun retard pour l'exécution des ordres dont il est chargé pour le service des postes.

" Le Directeur-général des Postes et Relais de France,

" L. S. (Signé) BOURIENNE.

" *Hôtel des Postes, Paris*, 17 *Avril*, 1814."

" P. S. — Le directeur-général ordonne aux inspecteurs et maîtres de postes, de veiller avec le plus grand soin à ce que le nombre des chevaux demandé par M. de Maubreuil lui soit fourni avant et de préférence à qui que ce soit, et qu'il n'éprouve aucune espèce de retard.

" L. S. (Signé) Le Directeur-général, BOURIENNE.

" *Paris*, 17 *Avril*."

IV.

RUSSIAN ORDER.—FRENCH LITERAL TRANSLATION.

" M. le général de Maubreuil étant chargé d'une *haute* mission, d'une très grande importance, pour laquelle il est autorisé à requérir les troupes de sa majesté impériale Russe, M. le général-en-chef de l'infanterie Russe, baron Sacken, ordonne aux commandants des troupes de les lui mettre à sa disposition, pour l'exécution de sa mission, dès qu'il les demandera.

" Le Général-en-chef de l'Infanterie Russe, Gouverneur

" de Paris,

" L. S. (Signé) Baron SACKEN.

" *Paris*, 17 *Avril*, 1814."

V.

PRUSSIAN ORDER.— FRENCH LITERAL TRANSLATION.

" M. le général Maubreuil etant autorisé à parcourir la France pour des affaires d'une *très grande importance*, et pour

qu'il renonce, pour lui et ses héritiers, aux trônes de France et d'Italie ; et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice personnel, même celui de la

l'exécution de très hautes missions ; que dans son besoin, il peut avoir occasion de requérir les troupes des hautes puissances, en conséquence, et suivant l'ordre de M. le général-en-chef de l'infanterie Russe, baron Sacken, il est ordonné à M.M. les commandants des troupes alliées, de lui en fournir, sur ses demandes, pour l'exécution de *ces hautes missions.*

" Le Général d'Etat-major,

" L. S. (Signé) Baron de BROKENHAUSEN.

" *Paris*, 17 *Avril*, 1814."

Furnished with these orders, (the object of which those who gave them dared not mention,) which placed at their disposal the police of France, the French troops, those of the allies, and all the post-horses, Maubreuil and Dasies (the latter with the title of commissaire du gouvernement) quitted Paris on the 18th. They joined their troops on the road, and waited in Fontainebleau forest until they saw the emperor Napoleon pass in safety. They then entered the Montereau road ; and on the 21st, about a furlong from the village of Fossard, which is the post between Montereau and Ville-neuve-la-Guiard, stopped the princess Catherine, daughter of the king of Wurtemberg, and wife of Jerôme Buonaparte, king of Westphalia ; she was travelling from Blois, with a numerous train of servants, carriages, and camp equipages. De Maubreuil, dressed as a colonel of hussars, at the head of his troop, composed of mamelukes of the late imperial guard, and soldiers of the imperial guard, in all about one hundred and twenty, rode up to the queen, to whom he was previously known, and told her he had orders to seize the cases containing the treasure she was carrying away. They took eleven cases : in one of which were eighty-four thousand francs, in gold ; another contained her

vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire à l'intérêt de la France.

" Fait au palais de Fontainebleau, le 11 Avril, 1814.

(Signé) " NAPOLEON."

husband's dressing-case, in which were jewels, according to the evidence of Bapts, the jeweller of whom they were bought, to the value of one hundred and sixty thousand francs. The queen, the Westphalian minister, Maubreuil, and Dasies, afterwards dined together at the inn at Fossard. She continued her journey; he went to Chailly, the first post on the Paris side of Fontainebleau, from whence the cases, except that containing the jewels, were sent, under a military escort, to M. de Vantaux, at Paris, where they arrived at nine in the morning of the 22d. Maubreuil and Dasies, having slept at Chailly on the 21st, went, the next day, to Versailles, to obtain information relative to the king of Rome: while there, Maubreuil sent for a locksmith to open Jerôme's dressing-case. Maubreuil and Dasies went to Paris, and arrived late at night at Vantaux's, where they found Semallé, and saw the cases in a closet, behind Vantaux's bed. Maubreuil delivered them the dressing-case. Vantaux was, at that time, called " inspecteur des trésors de la couronne;" and count de Semallé, a creature of Blacas', and an intriguing adventurer, without the means of existence, was employed by the Bourbons at this critical moment with the title of " commissaire du roi." The next day Dasies went to Semallé's, who asked to see the orders he had received. These he attempted to keep; but was prevented by the superior strength of Dasies, who, however, permitted him to take copies. This ill-timed act of Semallé gave the alarm to Maubreuil and Dasies to deposit these orders in a place of safety. On the 25th, at night, the cases, which had remained concealed, were officially examined, and as the grand object of the mission had been

The above is a verbatim copy of the act of abdication, as published. Napoleon wrote "pour lui et ses enfans," and "au bien de la nation." This he first altered to "aux intérêts de la France," and finally to "à l'intérêt de la France."

frustrated, it was now pretended that the only end of it was to recover the treasure which the Buonaparte family was taking out of France, and that Maubreuil had kept some of it for himself; as, in the case which De Maubreuil said contained eighty-four thousand francs in gold, only four thousand were found, in silver. De Maubreuil and Dasies were taken to the prefecture of police. A few days afterwards, four of their agents and servants were arrested.

On arriving at the prefecture of police, he was commanded to deliver up the different orders which had been given to him: on replying that he had them not, he was instantly stripped naked to search for them! He was then placed *au secret;* and from that hour began a system of atrocious cruelty, mockery of justice, violation of every established form of legal procedure, unequalled at any period even of French history. Fifteen days after he had been *au secret,* his lodgings, in the Hôtel de Virginie, Rue St. Honoré, were searched without (as the law expressly requires) either himself or his servant being present; and in the room in which the servant slept, an ear-ring, a diamond, a ruby, and an emerald, were found wrapped in a bit of writing paper, on which were some words that a servant of the queen of Westphalia declared to be in her hand-writing. After Maubreuil had been *au secret* seven weeks, a spy of the police, named Huet, offered a gold comb, set with diamonds, for sale: — it was bought. A few days after, this same Huet offered a second: this excited the shopkeeper's suspicion; he sent for the commissary of police, and Huet, in reply to his interrogation, said that he was angling in the Seine, near the

The emperor signed his abdication on a small circular mahogany spring table, having a pillar-leg, painted green, like bronze, in a room on the

steam-engine at Chaillot, and brought up the comb; that three days after he went again to the same place, and brought up a second. The river was then dragged at this spot, and the jewels of the queen of Westphalia were found wrapped in a cloth: they were examined by the jewellers who set them, and others of the same trade, who declared, from their appearance, that they could have been under water only a few days, and De Maubreuil had been *au secret* for seven weeks. Huet, the police spy, was committed to the prison of La Force, where, after he had remained some time, he began to grow tired of the confinement which the part he had been made to play had brought upon him, and said to some fellow-prisoners, that if he was not set at liberty soon, he would take the gag out of his mouth. On the 10th of October, Dasies was taken from the prison of La Force, and put into a carriage, as it was said, to take him to M. Dufour, the judge of instruction, appointed to examine him previous to trial. On crossing the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, the carriage stopped; the door was opened by three persons, who informed him he was at liberty: he got out, went to his counsel, M. Couture, and from thence wrote to the chancellor and the judge of instruction what had taken place, adding, that if they had any charge against him he would surrender; but no notice was taken of him, or his letter. On the 3d of December, 1814, De Maubreuil was brought before the tribunal of the premier instance of Paris, which declared that the imputation against him did not come within their jurisdiction, as it appeared to be the abuse or negligence of an order emanating from superior and military authorities; upon this he was sent to the military prison of the Abbaye, where he remained *au secret* one hundred and six days; but in the month of March, 1815, when Napoleon, having arrived

first floor, of white and gold, and hung with rich crimson and gold silk, with two windows opening to the private garden.

from Elba, was rapidly approaching Paris, the government, dreading lest Maubreuil should get into Napoleon's power, sent an order on the 18th of March to set him at liberty. Colville and the others, not being in the secret of the proposed murder, were suffered to remain. Maubreuil, on the 19th, went to St. Germain en Laye, to the house of his friend count Danes, mayor of St. Germain; but on the 20th, the day of Napoleon's arrival, returned to Paris, and slept at his lodgings in the Rue Cerutti, but was advised to return to St. Germain, which he did, but was taken up in count Dane's house, on the 23d, by the police of Napoleon's gouvernement, and again conducted to the Abbaye. Dasies was also arrested and put into the same prison. On the 24th, the minister of war sent an order to convoke a court-martial to try De Maubreuil, Dasies, Colville, Barbier, Muller, Fraitur, Mouton, and Huet. On the 28th the court-martial assembled and declared itself incompetent, none of the persons being military men. On the 2d of April, 1815, the affair was brought before the council of state, and a report was published of the sitting. The third article says:—

"La sûreté de Napoleon, de la famille impériale, était garantie (art. 14 du traité de Fontainebleau) par toutes les puissances; et des bandes d'assassins ont été organisées en France, sous les yeux du gouvernement Français, et même par ses ordres, comme le prouvera bientôt la procédure solennelle contre le sieur de Maubreuil, pour attaquer l'empereur, ses frères, et leurs épouses, etc."

Every means was taken to get the secret out of de Maubreuil; every offer, every threat was made, but he would not make any disclosure, or answer any questions: as for the others, they knew nothing of the plot. Notwithstanding the firmness of

At the audience which the deputation had with the emperor of Russia, marshal Ney expressed some dissatisfaction that the sentiments

de Maubreuil, Fouché was apprehensive that at last they might obtain information which it would not suit the part he was playing that they should possess: he therefore facilitated his escape. His friend, the marquis Debrosse, conveyed a file and rope to Maubreuil: he sawed through the bars of his prison at the préfecture de police, and let himself down at night into the court-yard, from whence he walked out, and immediately set off for Ghent with the marquis Debrosse, but was arrested on the 4th May, at Brussels, by order of Semallé, and sent to prison at Ghent, where he attempted suicide, by opening four of his veins. Thence he was transferred to Liége. Semallé denouncing him to the government of the Netherlands as an assassin, sent by Buonaparte to kill the king of France; but baron Eckstein, chief of the police, soon found he had been the dupe of Semallé, and set de Maubreuil at liberty, who returned to France about the same time that Louis XVIII arrived at Paris. While he was absent, the court of cassation, on the 28th of June, sent the business, as far as related to Maubreuil, Dasies, and Barbier, before the procureur du roi, and ordered Colville and the others to be set at liberty, as were Dasies and Barbier at the end of 1816. The procureur du roi sent it to the police correctionelle: the avocat du roi of that establishment declared that their tribunal was not competent to try the affair.

De Maubreuil, on his return to France, determined to make the whole plot known, but refrained, at the solicitation of M. de la Rochejaquellin, and he retired into the country, near St. Germain, where he remained unmolested until the 11th of June, 1816, when he was taken up, conveyed to Paris, and thrown into a dungeon in the prison of La Force, where he remained, *au secret*, except the hours he was taken out to be tormented by interrogatories. On the 12th of January, 1817, his friend, the

of the army had not been consulted. Alexander replied, "Je ne traite qu'avec des rois ou des peuples: ici je traite avec le peuple." It was

marquis Debrosse, petitioned the chamber of deputies that he might be tried, as the procureur du roi had decreed that the police correctionelle was incompetent. The chamber of deputies sent this petition to a committee, and the result was, that on the 10th of April, de Maubreuil was brought before the police correctionelle at Paris, after a confinement in a dungeon of five hundred and fifty-two days, *au secret*, without communication with any human being, until the last fifteen days, when his counsel and the marquis Debrosse were allowed to see him, in the presence of four witnesses. I was present at this trial. De Maubreuil presented a most ghastly appearance, with a frightful wildness in his eyes, his skin of the unnatural whiteness of the lower part of celery or endive, and from the same cause — seclusion from light: the contrast between what he was now and when I last saw him galloping about the streets of Paris, on the 31st of March, 1814, was most awful. The court consisted of the president and two judges. The former, M. Maugis, behaved in a more mild, gentlemanly manner than judges usually do in Paris; but far otherwise was the demeanour of M. Vatismenil, avocat du roi, a young coxcomb, who wore mustachios, that, when not in his advocate's dress, he might be mistaken for a military man. This king's advocate gave an account of the whole affair; but said, that though the charges were "*prodigious*," and the mass of information vast, as might be judged from the quantity of papers now before him, (and there most certainly was a ream of paper,) yet M. de Maubreuil need not deny these charges; "car nous n'en affirmons aucune." He concluded by requiring of the court to declare its incompetency. The president asked M. de Maubreuil what he had to say as to the competency. He was going to speak as to the facts: but the president told him it was useless. He said that he had

Macdonald who defended the interests of Napoleon the most warmly and earnestly, trying to obtain a regency for the young Napoleon.

the most important communication to make, but that he feared he should be murdered in prison, and that his counsel would be persecuted by the police. He required that his friend Debrosse, who yesterday had resigned his rank in the army to defend him, should not be sent out of Paris during his trial. The court said, that " la justice " should protect him and his counsel. " But," replied de Maubreuil, " la police n'est pas la justice :" I have to complain of a system of espionage sans exemple, on the part of M. le comte d'Artois, over all who would defend me ; and that the prefect of police yesterday seized all my papers. The court then named M. Couture as his counsel, and adjourned to that day se'nnight. On the sitting of the 17th of April, he divulged, what he had not yet done, the real object for which he had received the orders ; and such was the interest and consternation it excited in court, that though the gens d'armes, between whom he was placed, received orders to make him sit down, yet they did it so mildly and reluctantly, that he had time to finish his declaration. He now said, " Let them thank themselves for wishing to destroy my reputation, and making me pass for a robber." He also said, that his friend, the marquis Debrosse, had been sent out of Paris. The president very mildly told him to be silent. M. Couture then made a most interesting and eloquent statement of the whole affair, and spoke for two hours and twenty minutes. He said, " Why do not those who signed the orders come forward, and say what their object was? Why, if his orders were not of a most uncommon nature, was he set at liberty before the return of Napoleon, while the inferior agents were suffered to remain in prison ?"

The avocat du roi, M. Vatismenil, in reply, commenced by saying, " he was very wrong last sitting, in treating De Maubreuil as a robber;" and admitted that the setting him

Michaud, the member of the Institute, told me that at this time he never quitted Talleyrand, and that at this interview the emperor of Russia,

at liberty, on the 18th of March, was from "une raison de haute politique!!!" but now that De Maubreuil has divulged what the object of his mission was, he has shewn himself doubly culpable; first by accepting such a commission, and then in being so perfidious as not to execute it. Maubreuil again spoke; his counsel, Couture, also. The court adjourned to the 22d of April, on which day the place was still more crowded than on the former occasion. Marshal Oudinot was present. The court then pronounced its incompetency. On the 21st of May, the "cour royale de Paris, chambre des appels de police correctionnelle," heard the cause. De Maubreuil was brought in, surrounded by eight gens-d'armes, instead of the usual number, two. This was the appeal of De Maubreuil against the decision of the police correctionelle, which had declared itself incompetent. M. Couture pleaded for Maubreuil. The prisoner himself was very calm, and did not speak. The cause was adjourned until the 23d, to hear M. Hua, the advocate-general. On this day De Maubreuil was seated between two gens-d'armes, and guarded by six others; the court, which is very large, was crowded with ladies and persons of distinction. The court was composed of a president and ten judges. M. Hua began by saying, that it was not the guilt of M. de Maubreuil the court was to decide upon, but whether what he was accused of came under the cognizance of the criminal or the correctional tribunal: he required that the court should declare its incompetence; for as a robbery had been committed, it came under the cognizance of the criminal court. Maubreuil replied, it was very true that there had been a robbery, but that the robbers were M. de Semallé, M. Vantaux, et M. de Vitrolles. The president, in a very mild, conciliatory tone, said he was not called a robber, but only that he was prévenu d'un vol. The

notwithstanding his flourish of treating with the people, was so completely persuaded by the marshals and Caulincourt, and at the same time

advocate-general said the same, and that he mistook the meaning of legal terms. Couture, his counsel, then replied, that if the object of the mission had been the recovery of the treasure which was then carrying away by the imperial family, a commissary of police, and a few guards, were sufficient; as, at the same period, twenty-eight millions had been taken from Joseph Buonaparte, near Orleans. Couture concluded by saying, that his client was only kept in prison, and thus treated, as a scarecrow to government agents. The court retired, and remained out an hour and a quarter, and on re-entering declared its competence. The 28th of May, the procureur-général appealed to the court of cassation to destroy the decree of competency. In June, the court of cassation sent de Maubreuil to Rouen to be tried. The court of that city sent him, on the 20th of September, to Douai to be tried, which court condemned him, on the evidence of Semallé and Vantaux, for a breach of trust, without determining the nature of the trust reposed in him, and for taking the 84,000 francs in gold, but never mentioned the diamonds, &c. His innocence with regard to taking them was acknowledged. It said he only had them in his possession, but admitted that others took them; and with regard to the 85,000 francs, it was proved they were delivered to M. de Vitrolles. From the prison of the tower of Nôtre Dame, at Douai, he escaped and fled to England, where he deposited a protest before the lord mayor of London, dated 16th May, 1818, and lodged his papers in the archives of the city, and sent a copy of his protest to different English peers. In England he was reduced to the greatest pecuniary distress, sleeping on the floor, and eating only once in forty-eight hours. While here, the emperor Alexander of Russia, who, in 1814, wanted to have him shot at Paris, applied to lord Castlereagh, through his ambassador, to have him sent out of England under the alien act. Lord

influenced by fear of the result of a battle, that he determined to abandon the cause of the Bourbons, and retreat from Paris with his army.

Castlereagh refused, saying, if he had cause of complaint, he must sue de Maubreuil in the English courts of justice. He returned to Paris in 1823, with a view of redeeming the wreck of his paternal property, which had been sequestered to pay the costs of his trial; but new persecutions awaited him. On the 23d of May, in the above year, he was arrested by the police, and whilst in confinement, was offered a pension if he would leave France. He refused the bribe, but agreed to quit the kingdom, and proceeded to Brussels. In 1825 he again visited Paris, and was again arrested by the police on the 1st of April, but was once more liberated, "par ordre supérieur," on the 5th, when he immediately proceeded to Brittany, to seek protection and subsistence among his friends. In this retirement he was harassed and persecuted by the lower agents of the local police, to avoid whom he once more ventured to Paris in November 1826. Here he had several interviews with the different ministers, who advised him to remain quiet; but his temper would not submit to this, and he presented himself at the church of St. Denis, on the 20th of January, 1827, when the court was present at a grand religious ceremony commemorating the death of Louis XVI. Talleyrand was also in attendance, and on quitting the church was slapped in the face by de Maubreuil, who was instantly taken up, without the least resistance on his part; on the contrary, he said he did it in the hope of being brought to trial, and that by citing Talleyrand into a court of justice as a witness, he might expose him, and hold him up to the execration of all Europe. For this he was tried before the police correctionelle on the 24th of February, 1827, and condemned to five years' imprisonment, five hundred francs fine, and ten years of surveillance of the haute police. He appealed against this harsh sentence; and on the 29th of August, 1827, the cour royale of Paris

Dessoles was the person who persuaded the emperor to remain, saying, that if he retreated, he hoped his majesty would grant passports to all the Bourbonists to follow him. On the 6th, the emperor of Russia went alone to consult the king of Prussia on this subject.

From the 1st of April to the 5th, the emperor appeared in public, and on the parade, to review his troops in the accustomed manner. During this period, petitions, in greater numbers than usual, were presented to him by his officers. Instead of giving these to an officer in attendance, his ordinary practice on former occasions, he kept them himself, and carried them to his own apartment.

I have been told, by several officers who were with the emperor during this campaign, that though he sometimes evinced great energy, yet he generally was in a state of stupor.

During the period of residence at Fontainebleau, after his abdication, Buonaparte confined himself almost entirely to the library, alternately reading, or conversing with Maret, duke of Bas-

mitigated it to two hundred francs fine, and two years' imprisonment, which he is now enduring. Thus, for a time, ends the active persecution of this unfortunate nobleman, and also of the solemn mockery of *compétence, incompétence, pouvoir,* and *arrêts,* which, to the number of forty-seven, have been instituted against him during the last fourteen years, on account of this shameful affair.

sano, who was constantly with him. Sometimes he would come into the gallery of Francis the First, and enter into conversation with the officers who were in attendance there, on the events of the day, and what the public prints said of him, admitting the truth of certain observations, and denying others. One day he arrived with a newspaper in his hand, and holding it out, exclaimed, with great indignation, "They say that I am a coward!" At other times he would discuss the politics of the day as a person having no more than a common interest in them; and the restored king was a frequent subject of his discourse. With an air of candour, he asked M. Lamezan what was meant by insinuations which appeared in the newspapers, relative to the death of Pichegru, declaring that he had never heard of them before. In one of the papers were some details of the ill-treatment which the pope had experienced. He said, "C'est vrai, le pape a été maltraité: plus mal que je ne voulais." To general Sebastiani, he said, "Ce n'est pas les Russes ni les alliés qui m'ont conquis; c'est les idées libérales, que j'ai trop opprimées en Allemagne."* Speaking of the Bourbons to the

* Had he said in *France* also, he would have solved the problem. The thraldom of the French press, and the artificial moulding of public opinion to the imperial despotism, will appear from the following curious document, with which I was fur-

same general, he said, " The French will be enthusiastic for them for six months; then cold for three; and at the end of the year, bid adieu."

nished by M. Manget, a literary gentleman, editor of the *Publicist*, a daily newspaper, which, in consequence of being conducted on rather more liberal principles than the others, was suppressed, *par ordre supérieur*, in October 1810, the sale being then about three thousand. Messrs. Suard, member of the Académie Française, and Guizot, and mademoiselle Pauline de Meulan, now madame Guizot, were among the habitual writers for it. During the fifteen months which preceded the suppression of this paper, the editor never could obtain the sight of a single English newspaper, nor even of a Spanish one, and yet the latter were manufactured under the direction of king Joseph's police. The English articles which appeared in the *Publicist* were sent from the secretary of state's office, and were so badly and literally translated, that the interpretations there inserted were glaringly evident. Private letters directed to them were stopped at the post-office, and the articles of news they contained sent to papers in greater favour with government. M. Manget was obliged to attend *daily* at the office of Charles Lacretelle, jun., member of the Institute, the censor of the *Publicist*, to receive orders from the minister of police in what manner to direct the public opinion, and what feelings he was to manifest. When Holland was united to France, Lacretelle said to Manget that it was a most atrocious act, and a severe blow at civilisation, but at the same time *ordered* him to write an article, in form of a letter from Rotterdam, saying that this union was of the greatest advantage to the Dutch, as they were too poor to keep up their dykes; that their commerce would now flourish, as Holland would be attached to Europe, and her canals conducted to the centre of France.

A few days after his abdication, he walked in the garden of the palace for two hours with marshal Macdonald, conversing on the new con-

" Prohibitions to the 'Publicist' from the Minister of Police."

To announce any nomination before it appeared in the *Moniteur.* Ever to mention the ancient name of the French provinces, such as Normandy, Languedoc, Touraine, Burgundy, &c.

To announce the launching of any ship of war.

To mention any accident which might be attributed to neglect on the part of the police, such as murders, robberies, fires, persons run over, tiles or flower-pots falling on the heads of persons in the streets, or suicides; as the common people very frequently destroy themselves, and this evinces the misery of the times.

Want of rain, or too much, inundations, hail-storms, &c. There was a very considerable inundation in the department of the Ain in the spring of 1810; they received special orders not to mention this, as no distress must be supposed to exist in the empire.

The motions of the army, or even of any military officer of high rank.

To criticise the public monuments erected by the government, some of which were begun in time of war; but were first exhibited, cleared of the scaffolding, and in a finished state when peace existed with the power over which they were intended as monuments of triumph. In 1810, when the triumphal arch on the Place Carousel was opened, France was at peace with Austria, and all the bas-reliefs represented the degradation of that power: they were ordered only to speak of it as a work of art, and not to mention the subjects of the sculpture or the inscriptions.

Forbidden to use the word Poland; but always to term it the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

stitution, and on what he considered its advantages and defects. He said, that during the last twelve years he had been furnished with a daily

Forbidden to notice the Swedish navy. Ordered to say that the Swedes would not trade with England; and that whenever the Danes attacked the English, they were always victorious.

Forbidden to mention Spain, or to copy any article from the French provincial papers of the departments adjoining Spain: this prohibition came in consequence of the *Journal des Landes* giving an account of some success obtained by the national guards over the Spaniards, in the valley of Aran, as this shewed that the Spaniards were in force on the frontiers of France.

Forbidden to mention the state of the Russian colonies in the south of Europe; and *ordered* to say that the workmen who had gone there had been misled and deceived, that they were in the greatest misery, and seeking every means of returning to their native country: many were seen begging their way back; that this would not have been noticed but to expose the wickedness of the German newspapers, who, from hatred of the French, try, by delusive statements, to lure others to similar ruin.

Forbidden to mention the successes of the Russians over the Turks, because it must not be known that Russia was powerful; or, on the other hand, any advantages gained by the Turks, as at that time (1810) the Porte was disposed to quarrel with France. Ordered to insult Mr. Adair, the English ambassador at Constantinople, and to treat him as a "*vil intrigant.*"

They received a private letter from professor Rehfues, of Stutgardt, a man of considerable merit, containing an accurate statement of the Russian forces, shewing them to amount to thirteen hundred thousand men; on this being inserted, came a violent threatening letter from the police, and orders to contradict it in the manner that would produce the greatest effect: upon this they fabricated a letter from Riga, saying, that this statement was false, and the production of one of those German

bulletin of the actions of Louis XVIII; and allowed that the opportunities which his residence in England had given him of becoming acquainted with her institutions, would be ex-

newspaper visionary scribblers, who were ever indulging their fondness for peopling Europe by strokes of the pen, in a manner best suited to their rigmarole speculations.

Forbidden to copy from the German papers, that in a journey made by the imperial family of Austria, they would not allow any fêtes on their account, and that they lived with the greatest simplicity.

Most positive prohibition to mention the empress Josephine, madame de Stael, or the king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, unless it was to treat him as a madman, which they were ordered to do. Never to bestow the smallest eulogium on the queen of Prussia, of which the German papers were full.

Ordered to manufacture an article, dated Berlin, saying, that the marriage of Napoleon with the archduchess Marie Louise produced the best effect there, as it proved that the Germans had come to their senses and saw their real interests: a short time since the news of this marriage would have been badly received.

Forbidden to give the account from the German papers of Marie Louise's quitting her family, as they said she wept.

Forbidden to copy from the Strasburgh paper the address which the mayor of that city presented to Marie Louise on her arrival there, because it terms the Germans *moitié compatriots*, and says, that by this marriage they will be rendered *doublement compatriots*.

Encouraged to insult and ridicule the second class (Académie Française) of the Institute. Full liberty was given to ridicule the decimal prizes, with the intention of rendering literature contemptible.

tremely useful to him; adding, that possibly he should not remain long in Elba, but visit England, and study the great and liberal establishments of that country.

General sir Edward Paget and lord Louvain, who were at Paris, both informed me that lord Castlereagh, also then in Paris, told them, that Buonaparte had written to him for permission to retire to England, "it being the only country possessing great and liberal ideas."

To some of his officers, on their taking leave of him, Napoleon gave letters of commendation, with injunctions to serve the king with the same zeal and fidelity they had manifested towards himself. In the letter he gave to monsieur de Caraman, one of his officiers d'ordonnance, were these passages:—"J'autorise M. de Caraman à me quitter. Je n'ai point de doute que son nouveau souverain n'auroit que d'utiles services à tirer de lui, et à se louer de son zèle, de ses talens, et de son dévouement."

He gave a similar letter to monsieur Lamezan, another of his orderly officers.

For general Kosokouski he wrote: "Je déclare avec plaisir, mon cher général, que vous m'ète resté attaché et fidèle jusqu'au dernier moment."

He told M. de Caraman that he had never had time to study; but that he now should, and meant to write his own memoirs.

On learning that the emperor of Russia had visited the empress Josephine, Buonaparte observed, it was doubtless with a view to insult her.

Isabey had made a portrait in water-colours of the empress Marie Louise and her son, which she presented to the emperor on new-year's day, 1814. The drawing was at this time in Isabey's possession, who hearing from Caulincourt that Napoleon had expressed a desire to have it, repaired to Fontainebleau, and arrived there on the 19th at noon. On being introduced, he found Bassano and general Bertrand in the apartment, the latter reading aloud the description of some place, but ceased on Isabey's approach. Buonaparte exclaimed: "Ha! Isabey! what news?" He replied, that he was come to thank him for all the favours he had conferred upon him, and to take leave of him; and that having heard the duke of Vicenza mention his wish to have the portrait, he had brought it with him. Napoleon received it with an air of indifference, merely saying, "C'est bien."

Isabey being in the uniform of lieutenant of grenadiers of the national guard, Buonaparte, in his habitual rough manner, said, "What, are you in the national guard?" He replied, that although he had a son in the army, who had fought in the plains of Champagne, and of whose fate he was

ignorant,* yet he thought it his duty to serve his country in Paris. Napoleon making no answer, Isabey retired.

On the 16th, the commissioners, who, at the desire of Napoleon, were appointed by the allied powers to accompany the emperor (as they were ordered by their respective courts to style him) to the place of embarkation, arrived at Fontainebleau. General Koller, who was sent by Austria, and, like all those who are attached to the staff of the continental armies, had the habitual facility of arranging business of police, or other espionage, soon, by his spies, became perfectly acquainted with all that passed in the interior of the palace of Fontainebleau. By this means it was known that Napoleon had contracted a syphilitic complaint since his residence there. This piece of scandal was instantly communicated to the other commissioners.

When these were presented to the emperor on the 17th, he received them separately. To count Schuwaloff, the Russian, and to general Koller, the Austrian commissioners, he gave an audience to each of five minutes; while to count Waldbourg-Truchess, the Prussian, of not more than one. Colonel sir Neil Campbell told colonel Pelley, that his audience lasted a quarter of an

* He was killed.

hour, and that this was believed by the commissioners to have been a matter of previous arrangement. The same distinction towards the English commissioner was kept up during the journey. Sir Neil Campbell told me, that in the course of conversation with him, Napoleon remarked — though many considered he ought to commit suicide, yet he thought it was more magnanimous to live; that the emperor of Russia had conferred the order of St. Anne on Lescourt, one of the greatest jacobins in France; but he made no mention of the mandate which Lescourt pretended was brought to him to blow up the powder-magazine at Grenelle, on the 30th of March, though it was his boasted disobedience on this occasion which had procured him the Russian distinction. He expressed some surprise that Marie Louise did not join him before his departure. He acknowledged that he had cordially hated the English; but that he was now convinced they possessed more magnanimity and liberality than any other government. He was very desirous of taking his passage to Elba in an English frigate. Colonel Campbell wrote to lord Castlereagh on the subject, and received a favourable answer. Napoleon seemed to rely upon England for the fulfilment of the treaty of the 11th of April.

The emperor's departure was fixed for the 20th of April, and expected to be at eight in the

morning: the carriages were in waiting at that hour. The imperial guard was drawn up in the great court-yard called Le Cheval Blanc, before the palace, and a multitude of people were assembled. Colonel Campbell said, he saw the emperor at eight in the morning, in déshabille, unshaved, and covered with snuff. He continued in his room, in conversation with those officers who remained with him.* At length general Bertrand observed, that it was eleven o'clock, and that every thing was ready for their departure. He replied haughtily, " Am I to regulate my actions by your watch? I shall set off when I please—perhaps not at all."

Colonel Campbell and the other commissioners were waiting in the ante-room of Napoleon's cabinet, in which he was in conversation with M. de Flahaut† and general Ornano. At last Bertrand announced the emperor. Those present ranged themselves on each side of his passage, according to the usual etiquette, which was kept up to the last. The door opened. Napoleon was coming

* The faithful few were, the duke of Basano, general Belliard, colonel Bussy, colonel Anatole de Montesquiou, comte de Turrene, general Fouler, baron Misgrigny, colonel Gourgaud, lieutenant-colonel Athalin, baron de la Place, baron Lelorgne d'Ideville, le chevalier Jouanne, general Kosokouski, colonel Vensowitch. The two last were Poles.

† Colonel Campbell's memory must have failed him, as M. de Flahaut was at that time on a mission for the emperor.

forward, but suddenly returned. Colonel Campbell, notwithstanding what the emperor had said, told me that he expected every instant to hear the report of a pistol; but in a short time he came out, passed along the gallery of Francis the First, and, at twelve o'clock, descended the great central steps into the court-yard. The drums rolled as soon as he appeared on the steps: he caused them to cease, by a commanding, dignified motion with his hand; then advancing into the court, the commissaries attending him, he called the officers around him, and took leave of his troops in the following words:—

"Officiers, sous-officiers, et soldats de la vieille garde, je vous fais mes adieux!

"Depuis vingt ans je suis content de vous: je vous ai toujours trouvé sur le chemin de la gloire.

"Les puissances alliées ont armé toute l'Europe contre moi: une partie de l'armée a trahi ses devoirs, et la France elle-même a cédé à des intérêts particuliers.

"Avec vous, et les autres braves qui me sont restés fidèles, j'aurais pu entretenir la guerre civile pendant trois ans; mais la France eût été malheureuse, et ce n'était point le but que je m'étais proposé. Je devais donc sacrifier mon intérêt personnel à son bonheur — c'est ce que j'ai fait.

"Soyez fidèles au nouveau souverain que la

France s'est choisie: n'abandonnez pas cette chère patrie, trop long-temps malheureuse. Ne plaignez point mon sort: je serai toujours heureux dès que j'apprendrai que vous l'êtes. J'aurais pu mourir — rien n'était plus facile: mais non; je vivrai pour vous aimer encore, et j'écrirai ce que nous avons fait.

" Je ne puis vous embrasser tous; mais j'embrasserai votre chef. Venez, général! [General Petit, whom he then embraced.] Qu'on m'apporte l'aigle! [He took the eagle, pressed it to him, and kissed it with emotion.] Cher aigle, que ces baisers retentissent dans le cœur de tous les braves!

" Adieu, mes enfans! Adieu, mes braves!"

Buonaparte shed tears, and the whole army also wept. Colonel Campbell acknowledged to colonel Pelley and to myself, that he and every one who heard it melted into tears.

The emperor immediately ascended his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand, and was preceded by one in which general Drouet was seated, and followed by the four carriages of the commissioners; eight of the emperor's carriages, with his people, closed the train, which employed sixty post-horses.

Five carriages had gone forward on the 19th; these crossed Mont Cenis, went by Carmagna, and embarked at Savona.

At five in the afternoon they all arrived at Montargis, and passed, without stopping, through the town, at the farther end of which post-horses were in waiting, the emperor's own horses having brought him from Fontainebleau. About two hundred cavalry were here drawn out to receive him: these he addressed from his carriage, thanked them for their services, which he assured them he should always remember, though he no longer had the power to recompense. They shed tears at this speech, especially the officers, some of whom broke their swords as they re-entered the town. The effect of this scene, the hon. Algernon Percy, who witnessed it, told me, was heightened by Napoleon's own emotion, who, the instant he ceased to address the troops, ordered the postilions to drive on.

The emperor arrived at eight o'clock in the evening at Briare, where he slept at the inn of the post. In the evening he received some officers who were in the town. The next morning, Thursday the 21st, he invited colonel Campbell to breakfast, during which he was very inquisitive relative to lord Wellington's private character, often saying to the colonel's answers, "C'est comme moi," and said, he should like very much to be in company with him. He asked, if he possessed great talent in haranguing his troops; and upon the answer that he never did harangue them, expressed great surprise, and still greater

when he told him, that if an English officer was to attempt to harangue his troops, they would laugh at him. After breakfast he again received the officers of the troops that were quartered in the town and neighbourhood, and was with difficulty dissuaded from reviewing them. All this delayed his departure until between one and two in the afternoon, when he proceeded to Nevers, where they dined and slept at the inn of the post.* A hussar of his own guard was placed as sentry at the door of the emperor's apartment, in which he slept alone. He set off the next morning, between six and seven o'clock: in this arrangement he was left perfectly to his own will. The commissioners waited upon him down stairs. General Bertrand went in the carriage with him. At the foot of the stairs, some persons belonging to the inn saluted him with "Vive l'empereur!" but of this he took no notice. About two hundred and fifty persons were assembled in the street, and the cry of "Vive l'empereur!" was reiterated, without appearing to excite his attention. The white cockades, which the inhabitants had worn when he arrived on the preceding day, they now displaced. Hence he was escorted to Villeneuve-sur-Allier by fifty hussars of the imperial guard; and some infantry, who were quartered at Nevers,

* A large inn just before entering the town on the side next Paris.

turned out and presented arms as he passed, but there were no allied troops either in the town or in the escort.

After his departure, the commissioners returned to their apartments, having their despatches to finish. Colonel Pelley, who was at Nevers, on his return from Moulins, where he had resided as prisoner of war, took charge of these for lord Castlereagh and the other plenipotentiaries at Paris. The colonel, who is an intimate friend of colonel Campbell, with whom and the Prussian commissioners he supped at Nevers, told me*

* At lord Beverley's table, at Paris, on the 25th of April, (therefore only three days after the conversation); and at the same time, among other circumstances, mentioned that the emperor of Russia had conferred the order of St. Anne on Lescourt, who was one of the greatest jacobins in France. It was not understood either by colonel Pelley, by myself, or by any one at table, that Pelley meant to insinuate that the order was the reward of his jacobinism, or that Alexander knew those had been his principles; but only that the Czar either was, or thought proper to be, the dupe of one of the numerous intrigans that fluttered into notice at this period; for scarcely any one believed, at the time, that any order had ever been brought to major Lescourt to blow up the powder-magazine, and which was afterwards proved to be an invention of Lescourt, by an inquiry which was officially made. Being in company with colonel sir Neil Campbell, at Paris, the 9th of February, 1819, I mentioned to him the conversation I had heard from colonel Pelley; he did not deny any part of it, and favoured me with several other curious anecdotes relating to the journey to Elba, which I wrote down the same evening, and have inserted them in the course of this narrative.

that the commissioners did not appear to act as if they considered themselves responsible for Napoleon's person, or as guards upon him; his escape, if he had intended it, being extremely practicable, the sentry being placed at his chamber-door as a military honour, only. On the commissioners quitting Nevers, they were hooted by the inhabitants.

On entering Moulins, the emperor was escorted by some cuirassiers of the allied army. They were met by a carriage, in which was the mayor and another gentleman. Two of the cuirassiers rode up to the carriage, and announced to them the approach of the emperor; telling them, at the same time, to take the white cockades from their hats. He passed through Moulins without even stopping to change horses. Some of the populace vociferated "Vive l'empereur!" as he went along.

They slept that night at Roanne, and set off the next day at ten in the morning.

On Saturday the 23d, monsieur and madame Guizot saw him at Tarrare, during the change of horses. He spoke to the people who were assembled round the carriage quite *en souverain*, asking them if they had work—if they had suffered by the war. Some cried, "Vive l'empereur!" There was no escort.

At Dardilly, the last post on the road to Lyons, they supped. The emperor having finished

before the commissioners, walked forward on the road, and there accosted the curé, M. Tillon; he asked him if his parish had suffered from the war; and then, pointing to the stars, said, that formerly he knew the names of all the constellations, but that he had forgotten them. Directing the curé's notice to one of them, he asked if he knew its name? The curé replying in the negative, their conversation ended.

The same night, about eleven o'clock, he arrived at Lyons. They did not stop at the post-house in the city, but, as a matter of precaution, crossed the Rhone by the Pont de la Guillotière, and changed horses in the fauxbourg of that name, at a place called Madelène. Some carriages belonging to the emperor had passed through Lyons in the morning. The people were waiting Napoleon's arrival during the whole day. On his passing the bridge, some few called out "Vive l'empereur!"

From Lyons colonel Campbell went forward to see if there was an English ship-of-war either at Marseilles or at Toulon. Finding the Undaunted frigate, of 38 guns, commanded by captain Usher, at the former, he shewed his authority from lord Castlereagh to order it to St. Tropes, the port fixed upon for Napoleon's embarkation, whither captain Usher sailed, whilst the colonel, &c. proceeded by land.

On Sunday the 24th, about twelve o'clock,

meeting an avant-courier near Valence, Napoleon stopped him, and asked to whom he belonged. On replying, to marshal Augereau, he ordered him to return, and tell the marshal that the emperor wished to speak to him. When the carriages met, they both alighted. Napoleon saluted the marshal by taking off his hat, then, taking him by the arm, they walked for nearly a quarter of an hour towards Valence. Buonaparte began by, "Où vas-tu comme cela? à Paris? à la cour?" Augereau replied, "Sire, pour le moment je vais à Lyons." Buonaparte: "Ne te gêne pas; je ne suis plus sire pour toi: j'ai lu ta proclamation; elle est platte: Louis XVIII t'en jugera d'après cela."* He then continued reproaching him; upon which the marshal began to thee and thou the emperor, justified himself, and reproached him with having sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition, adding, "There is one great truth in my proclamation, which is, that thou didst not know how to die like a soldier." Notwithstanding this altercation, Buonaparte, on quitting him, said, "Vas, je ne t'en veux pas." I am indebted for this anecdote to the wife of general Letort, and to the chief of the post-office at Lyons, who saw Augereau on his arrival at that city.

* This proclamation, dated April 16th, was manufactured by the government authorities at Lyons, who sent it to Augereau to sign; for, silly as it is, he, poor man, was not capable of writing it, or any thing else.

At Donzy, which they passed late in the evening, the outcry against Napoleon began. "A bas Nicholas! à bas le tyran! à bas le Corse! le coquin! le mauvais gueux!" were the only salutations he received during the rest of his journey.

He arrived at Avignon on the 25th, at between five and six in the morning, where the civil authorities had done every thing in their power to prevent tumult, as it was known to be the intention of the people to sacrifice him to their vengeance; yet, when the carriages stopped without the city-walls to change horses, about a hundred persons had assembled in a tumultuous manner: sabres were brandished, and positive violence to the person of Napoleon was only prevented by the exertions of the urban guards, one of whose officers harangued them with great firmness, which somewhat appeased their fury. In the interval the horses were put to; the guard tore the people from the wheels; the officers ordered the postilions to drive off, which they did at full gallop. The other carriages, on account of the allied commissioners, were respected.

Sir Neil Campbell told me, that he arrived at Avignon at four in the morning, and notwithstanding it was very dark, found the people assembled in considerable numbers. They questioned him relative to the emperor's passage, saying, that several thousand persons had waited the whole of the preceding day with the intention

of sacrificing him.* The colonel remonstrated with them, urging that he was no longer dangerous; that he was quitting France by a treaty; and, above all, that he was under the protection of the allies.

On arriving at the post-house, which stands before the entrance to Orgon, a small town, round whose ancient walls the road winds, they found the people assembled in the most outrageous manner, and a figure in French uniform, covered with blood, suspended to a tree. The rabble, who, in this country of barbarians, are famed for their ruffian manners, surrounded the emperor's carriage, and loaded him with every kind of abuse, in which the women were particularly violent. When the horses were put to, the figure was dragged to another tree, where it was again suspended, and shot at. The mob prevented his carriage from proceeding, climbed up on both sides of it, tore off Napoleon's decoration of the legion of honour, and spat in his face: one fellow insisted on his crying out "Vive le roi!" with which he complied. "Encore 'Vive le roi!'" The emperor again acquiesced. Some stones were thrown, the marks of which, on the carriage, Bertrand pointed out to colonel Campbell on their way to Elba. Count Schuwaloff harangued

* What an assemblage of the bigoted ruffian inhabitants of Avignon is capable of perpetrating, the subsequent unpunished murder of marshal Brune has fully evinced.

the mob, asking them if they were not ashamed to insult an unfortunate and undefended person, who, after dictating laws to the universe, was now at their mercy and their generosity! — "Leave him to himself; contempt is the only arms you should employ against him." This produced the desired effect, and prevented further violence. An ancient chevalier of St. Louis, named Lambert, contributed also, by addressing them, in some degree to calm their rage.*

M. de St. Perest and major John Vivian were at Orgon a few days after, and spoke to the man who boasted of having forced the emperor to cry "Vive le roi!"

This affair so alarmed Napoleon, that when he had proceeded about a quarter of a league from Orgon, he changed his dress to an old blue great-coat and a round hat with a white cockade, quitted his carriage, mounted on horseback, and galloped forward as a courier.

At St. Canat his carriage was surrounded by a turbulent rabble, and Bertrand, who alone was in it, was protected from their rage by the energetic conduct of the mayor of that place.

* So completely are the people of Orgon ashamed of their conduct, that on my questioning them in April, 1825, on the spot where the outrage was committed, they denied it, and said, that it had been the fashion to calumniate their town. On Napoleon's return from Elba, many of the inhabitants of Orgon fled, conscious of having merited the vengeance of his soldiers.

Having preceded his carriage, the emperor, in company with the courier, entered a large but bad muleteer's inn, called La Calade, situated on the right side of the road, about four miles before arriving at Aix. The courier led the horses to the stable; Napoleon entered the inn, and asked for a room, announcing himself as colonel Campbell. The landlady shewed him one, having, as is usual in the south of France with those on the ground-floor, windows protected by iron bars, apologising for its being low and dark, saying, that it was the only one she had. He replied, it would do. While she was putting it in order, she asked him if he had seen Buonaparte on the road. On his replying, No, (as she told major John Vivian, a few days after this conversation, from whom I received the information,) she poured forth a torrent of abuse against him; saying, she hoped, that if he escaped being massacred on the road, that he would be thrown into the sea in going to his island. To this abuse he replied, that many things were said of him which were not true. This conversation had such effect upon him, that when the commissioners arrived at the inn, they found him leaning on the table, with his face on his hands, and on raising his head they perceived his eyes were full of tears. Here they all dined. Sir Neil Campbell told me that the commissioners assured him, that after dinner, they being in the room and at table, the emperor took a tumbler

of water to the fire-place, and there made use of it as a local application for the inconvenience he had contracted at Fontainebleau. In consequence of the fears of Napoleon, they did not leave La Calade until near midnight, and he then persuaded the aide-de-camp of general Schuwaloff to put on the old great-coat and round hat in which he had arrived, Napoleon determining to pass for an Austrian colonel; he put on general Koller's uniform, and his order of St. Theresa, with count Waldbourg-Truchess' travelling-cap, and general Schuwaloff's cloak. When he was thus accoutred, the whole party went out huddled together, and the assembled spectators who surrounded the door could not discover the object of their solicitude. Some gens d'armes, whom the mayor of Aix had sent to preserve order, drove the crowd from the carriages, and all went off peaceably. Napoleon was fully of opinion, that the French government had arranged the plan to assassinate him at Orgon.* After Napoleon's return from Elba, in March 1815, the inn was repeatedly pillaged by the soldiery. The landlady quitted the country for safety.

The next day they dined at the château of Bouillidou, near the village of Luc, belonging to M. Charles, a member of the chamber of deputies. Here he met his favourite sister Pauline, princess

* The former plot having been frustrated by De Maubreuil.

Borghese, who resided there for her health, to whom he recounted all his dangers and disguises.

27th.—They all arrived at Frejus, at which place Napoleon made up his mind to embark, instead of St. Tropes, which is within sight. Colonel Campbell, having been informed of the change, had already arrived, and captain Usher, in the Undaunted, shortly after came into St. Rapheau, which is the port of Frejus. Colonel Campbell introduced captain Usher to Napoleon, who was at an inn, the sign of the Chapeau-rouge. The emperor invited him to dinner, and asked him which way the wind was? How far it was to Elba? How long he should be going? To the latter question captain Usher replied, that as there was a light wind, probably about thirty-six hours, but this was very uncertain. Napoleon then told him he was determined to embark on board his ship. A more happy rencontre could not have occurred in order to give the emperor a favourable idea of a British naval officer, captain Usher being a gentleman of most unaffected, correct, engaging, unassuming manners,—serious, firm, mild, courageous, and of the greatest veracity. During dinner Napoleon was in excellent spirits; he said to captain Usher that he had intended to have built three hundred ships of the line, and with them to invade England. "But where could you have obtained seamen?" said Usher. "I had provided for all—I should have formed them in the Zuyder-

Zee, where there is a heavy swell rolling in. They should particularly have been exercised in anchoring in a tide-way." The Austrian commissioner, supposing this to be a flourish of Napoleon's, and that he could not know any thing of naval affairs, asked him to explain what was meant by anchoring in a tide-way, as he, who now saw salt water for the first time in his life, was ignorant of every thing relative to nautical business. Napoleon immediately explained what was meant, and captain Usher told me that the most experienced seaman could not have done it better. Napoleon said, that when he granted licenses, it was not for the purpose of indulging the French with sugar and coffee, but by means of these voyages to form sailors; and a correct register of them was kept, so that he knew where to find them the moment they were wanted. He appointed his captains, no matter what their seniority, to command the schooners of the Mediterranean, that they might be accustomed to be tost about, which they would be in small vessels more than others; and that when by all these means he had formed a considerable number of sailors, he would send them to make East and West India voyages; some would be taken, but those who got back would be good seamen. He spoke contemptuously of the Dutch sailors. He asked captain Usher what he thought of the manœuvres of the Toulon fleet? who replied, they were excellent; but he had only

seen them in smooth water; if they were to encounter a gale it would be very different. Captain Usher slept on shore.

28th.—At four in the morning, two of the civil authorities of Frejus came to captain Usher in great consternation, entreating him to get the emperor on board, as they had received intelligence that some thousands of the army of Italy were arriving by forced marches to join him, and that the consequence would be dreadful. The captain replied, that he had nothing to do with the embarkation—the commissioners alone could regulate that. As soon as he saw Napoleon he pressed him to go on board, for if the wind was to shift round to the southward and freshen, he could not remain in the bay. The emperor was not inclined to sail, and insisted that a royal salute should be fired on his embarkation, making this a *sine quâ non* of his acquiescence to leave the shore. Captain Usher urged that it was contrary to rule ever to fire a salute after sunset, and that the noise of twenty-four pounders would frighten the horses.* "C'est égal," was his reply. The salute, therefore, was consented to by the captain, and Napoleon fixed on eight in the evening to embark.†

* There were but two, one of which the emperor bought on the road.

† In an account of the journey to St. Tropes by the Prussian commissary, count Waldbourg-Truchess, he says there was a

He dined with his own suite at his inn. The two horses and two carriages in which Napoleon came were put on board in the course of the day. At the appointed hour captain Usher waited on the emperor; his sword and pistols were on the table before him. A few minutes after, a noise of a number of persons assembled in the street was heard; Usher, to hear what Napoleon would say, observed, that he had seen the mobs of several different nations, but that a French mob was the worst. They are a fickle people, was the reply.

The emperor, having buckled on his sword, put his pistols in his pocket; the room door was opened, and a number of the inhabitants were seen on the landing-place and on the stairs: among the ladies was one both young and beautiful; he asked her if she was married, and if she had children, but did not wait for an answer to either question. As he passed, the people bowed down their heads as when the host is elevated,

salute fired, *not* for Buonaparte, but with *twelve* guns, in honour of field-marshal lieutenant baron Koller, and *twelve* for count Schuwaloff. (Why not *twelve* in honour of the Prussian?) That they left Buonaparte in his own error that they were intended for him, lest he should start any new difficulties or objections to embark, as he was aware it was the intention of captain Usher to receive him as a simple individual, and not as an emperor.

It is unfortunate for the Prussian's account he did not count the number of guns fired, or that he was ignorant that captain Usher's instructions were to consider him as emperor.

apparently not daring to raise them. There was no shouting or cry of "Vive l'empereur!" They all went in carriages to the shore, which is three miles from the town; it was a beautiful moonlight evening. They quitted the carriages at the edge of a small wood, which having walked through, the emperor taking hold of captain Usher's arm, they suddenly found themselves on the beach, where the Undaunted's boat was in waiting, and some Austrian cavalry were drawn up. Here the Russian and Prussian commissaries quitted them, and returned to Paris. On entering the boat, captain Usher introduced lieutenant Smith, who commanded it, to Napoleon, as the nephew of sir Sidney Smith. The emperor said he remembered his uncle in Syria.

When they came alongside of the Undaunted, Napoleon desired the captain to ascend, and then followed; the officers were on deck to receive him; they mutually bowed, and the emperor instantly went forward alone among the men, most of whom spoke French, having been on this station for some years. They all kept their hats on, but he so fascinated them by his manner, that in a few minutes they, of their own accord, took them off. Captain Usher was very glad of this, as he was apprehensive the sailors might have thrown him overboard. Napoleon was particularly pleased with the boatswain, who was an uncommonly fine fellow, and also took a great

fancy to the serjeant of marines, an Irishman, who, with Usher's consent, was his only guard at Elba until the imperial guard arrived, sleeping in the anti-room of Napoleon's bed-chamber.

The Undaunted sailed a little before eleven, P.M. Captain Usher, the next day, was very silent at table; this Bertrand noticed to Campbell, at that time a great admirer of the emperor, who remonstrated with the captain on his taciturnity.

During the voyage the emperor often went forward among the sailors; they always took off their hats to him, but never did to Bertrand or to the other passengers. He complimented the captain on the excellent discipline he kept up, observing, that he had in vain attempted to introduce it in the French navy; "where," continued he, "the commander will laugh and joke with all the crew, even to the cabin-boy, and the sailors are suffered to sprawl about the quarter-deck, and play at cards, backgammon, dominos, or what they please."

Captain Usher was astonished at the extent and correctness of nautical information which Napoleon evinced during the voyage. One day he asked him whether all the sails were set that the frigate could carry; and on being answered in the affirmative, "yet," said the emperor, "if you were in chase of an enemy, would you not hoist one more?" "Yes, the sky-sail." "Oui,

oui, do let us have it up." His desire was complied with.

The emperor being in want of a flag for his new dominions, captain Usher told me that they overhauled all the colours in the frigate, and Napoleon fixed on the Tuscan flag, which is white with a red bend; this bend he had charged with three gold bees. Two such flags were immediately made by captain Usher's orders; one for the boat in which the emperor was to land, the other for the fort at Porto-Ferrajo.

Sir Neil Campbell assured me that no flag was made on board the Undaunted.

Captain Usher told me that Napoleon possessed great playfulness of character, of which he witnessed repeated instances both on board and at Elba.

Sir Neil Campbell said that Napoleon was in very good spirits during the voyage; that he spoke with the greatest bitterness of the French in general; but the individuals he was most inveterate against were Marmont, Talleyrand, and Bernadotte. "The French," said he, "now abuse me in pamphlets and in the newspapers, without ever admitting how willingly they seconded my wishes in every thing, and went beyond them in every act of rigour."* He said,

* A few examples of this zeal, from one class only, will shew what those persons who are put in authority will do when they can.

M. La Viefville des Essassarts was prefect of the department

more than once during the voyage, "Ces pauvres Bourbons, ils ne resteront pas dix mois, ils ne sauront pas gouverner les Français." He often expressed the same idea to colonel Campbell while at Elba.

The Undaunted arrived off Elba in the afternoon of the 3d of May. General Drouet was sent on shore that evening to the governor-general, Dalesme, and the next day, at two in the afternoon, was fixed for the disembarking and entrance of the emperor. Early in the morning of the 4th, the latter looking through a telescope saw a pretty country-house on the opposite side of the bay from Porto Ferrajo, and expressed a

de la Mayenne, of which the principal town is Laval. A conscript presented himself, having six toes, to the examining officier de santé, who declared he ought to be exempted, as he was incapable of long marches. The prefect ordered that the sixth toe should be amputated, when the lad said he would relinquish his plea of exemption. The prefect decided that this he could not do, as it had been declared to incapacitate him. It was instantly amputated, and the conscript died.

M. de Girardin, prefect of the department of the Seine Intérieur, sent four young men belonging to the first families in Rouen, one of whom was son of the president of the tribunal of commerce, to the army, for hissing a bad actor.

M. de Miramont, a noble of the *ancien régime*, prefect of the department of the Eure, sent some gentlemen to the army, as *gardes d'honneur*, who were thirty-four years of age, which was ten years above the age that exempted them.

The government required the prefect of the department of the Arriege to supply five hundred men: and he sent fifteen hundred.

wish to visit it; the ship's boat took him there, accompanied by captain Usher, colonel Campbell, and general Bertrand. On arriving at the house, they found it shut up. A messenger was despatched to Porto Ferrajo for the key; and while waiting for it, Napoleon evinced the most childish impatience at this trifling delay of the gratification of his whim. Colonel Campbell and captain Usher left the emperor, and strolled to a vineyard behind the house, where they entered into conversation with a man who was at work. He was aware the vessel had brought the emperor, but did not know that he was then so near. Campbell sounded him on the subject of Napoleon. He worked himself into a most violent passion, and with true Italian pantomime, seized his own throat, and made a motion of cutting it with his pruning-knife, signifying that thus he wished to serve the emperor. The Englishmen had the greatest difficulty in pacifying him.

Napoleon returned on board; and between two and three o'clock in the afternoon he quitted the ship, and landed at Porto Ferrajo. His entry was made with as much ceremony as the place and circumstances would permit. His flag was hoisted at the fort; a royal salute was fired by the Undaunted. From the water-side he was conducted under a canopy to the church. Captain Usher walked on one side of the emperor and the Austrian commissioner, Koller, on the

other, who was in great tribulation lest the inhabitants should shoot at Napoleon, and they also become victims. After leaving the church the emperor went to the town-hall, where he was received by the civil authorities. There was no public dinner, however, that day, as has been said.

One of Napoleon's first cares was to obtain a supply of water for the town of Porto Ferrajo. Captain Usher accompanied him in a boat round the bay; they visited every creek, and tasted the different rills. Seeing the English sailors watering, he said, "Let us go to them, I am sure they will choose the best." Napoleon made a sailor dip his hat into the water, and hold it for him to drink. "It is excellent! I knew they would find it out."

May 25th. — The French frigate, the Dryade, captain count Montcabrié, and the Inconstant brig, came into the bay; the former to take the French garrison of Elba to France, the second, according to treaty, was to be given to Napoleon.

26th. — Early in the morning, the four hundred officers and soldiers who were allowed to the emperor as his guard, by the treaty of April 11th, and who set out from Petiviers two days before he quitted Fontainebleau, proceeded by Lyons, where the officers were invited to a handsome dinner, given at a Restaurateur's in the Broteaux, by some young gentlemen of that city,

crossed Mont Cenis, and instead of entering Turin, went to Carmagnole, &c., from thence to Savona. On their arrival at that port, general Cambrone sent off a small vessel to Elba, which arrived there in two days with the news. Four days were occupied in getting the five British vessels ready that were to carry those troops to Elba. The wind proving unfavourable, nine more days were consumed in the voyage; and Napoleon declared, that the interval between the arrival of Aviso and that of the transports was passed by him in a state of greater anxiety and misery than he had ever before experienced.

Napoleon's carriages, and also his horses, which, including those of the cavalry, amounted to ninety-two, were all disembarked in the course of the morning by the English sailors, without the smallest accident. The emperor was present the whole time, and expressed his admiration and astonishment at the style in which this was done. "Had they been French sailors," said he, "they would have been at least four days about it; every carriage would have been broken, and half the horses lamed."

The arrival of the French vessels at Elba disclosed a feeling that ought to have been a useful lesson to the Bourbonists. On the 26th, Napoleon put off in a boat at four in the morning, and went on board the Dryade: the sailors were employed in washing the decks, but on seeing

him, they all instantly ran up the shrouds and shouted "Vive l'empereur!" Napoleon walked about the vessel, spoke a few words to the sailors, and returned to his boat before Montcabrié, who was dressing, was ready to receive him. He next visited the English transports, and then went on shore. Montcabrié rushed upon deck, foaming with rage at his sailors for cheering, yet not daring to punish them, for fear of a general mutiny. The emperor gave a grand dinner that day, and all the officers of both nations, as well as two Elbese ladies, were invited. During the dinner, the still-enraged Montcabrié told the whole affair to captain Usher, liberally bestowing the epithets of rascals on his crew.*

On the 27th of May, the day before that on which captain Usher had fixed to quit Elba, general Bertrand waited upon him, and presented him, in the name of the emperor, with an oval gold snuff-box, on the lid of which was his portrait, painted by Isabey, surrounded by twenty-two brilliants, each of the value of one

* Captain Usher related this circumstance to the late Samuel Whitbread, esq. who afterwards mentioned it to sir Neil Campbell, who, to his astonishment, denied the whole transaction. Mr. Whitbread wrote to captain Usher, informing him of this denial; he replied, that sir Neil Campbell *sat next* to captain Montcabrié *at the dinner*, during which the whole conversation took place. It appears that conversations are liable to escape sir Neil Campbell's memory.

hundred pounds. The emperor is represented in a green uniform, with the riband of the legion of honour. I think it is a very excellent likeness. Wergman, the king's jeweller, offered captain Usher three thousand guineas for it: he has since refused five thousand; and declared to me that nothing would tempt him to part with it. He waited on the emperor to take leave, and to thank him for this valuable memorial of his satisfaction. The emperor treated the present as a trifle.

June 4th. — The Dryade sailed with the French garrison.

The emperor's mother arrived at Elba on the 2d of August, and occupied a large house on the quay at Porto Ferrajo.

Sir Neil Campbell resided at the house of the parish priest at Porto Ferrajo, and dined at the inn. During the first three months, Napoleon was on very friendly terms with this officer; but afterwards, conceiving he acted as a spy on his conduct, he treated him with great coolness.

Lord Ebrington, Mr. Fazaskorly, Mr. Frederic Douglas, and another gentleman, visited Elba, and were admitted to pay their court to the emperor. The first dined with him, and was received in the most polite and unreserved manner. Napoleon said, the Bourbons were fools for allowing such a number of abusive pamphlets to be published against him: they had better do

as I have done, — never to allow them to be mentioned. Speaking of Berthier, prince of Neufchatel's ingratitude, he said, "C'est un bon diable," and would be one of the first to come with tears in his eyes and ask pardon; but the connexions of his wife are the cause: he was obliged to act as he did for his own interest. He has but little understanding, but has been very useful to me, particularly with his pen; and ended by saying, "C'est un bon diable, et je l'aime."

General Montague Mathew visited Elba, and dined daily with general Bertrand.

October 31st.—The emperor's sister, Pauline, princess Borghese, landed in Elba: she sailed in the emperor's brig the Inconstant, which had been sent to Naples for her. Napoleon went out in his barge to receive her. The next day two merchant-brigs arrived, laden with her luggage.

The princess lived in the palace with her brother: she was accompanied by three young and beautiful maids of honour, one a Spaniard, the other two French. Napoleon had a room built for her in the garden, in which she gave balls every Sunday evening.

Numerous workmen visited Elba, and were employed in fitting up and enlarging the house formerly belonging to the artillery, at which Napoleon resided. He also began to build a villa

in the valley of St. Martin, to which a good carriage-road was made by his direction; and accompanied by Bertrand, Druot, and a secretary, and surrounded by guards, he drove thither every day in a barouche and four, to inspect the progress of the work. Before his arrival, no carriage had been seen on the island. Another road, from Porto Ferrajo round the bay, was also undertaken by his direction, and he converted the hospital church, which had been used for barracks, into a theatre, in which masked balls were given. All this causing much money to circulate, soon rendered him very popular among the working classes; but the higher orders, sir Neil Campbell told me, always held him in great aversion.

The English gun-brig Grasshopper, captain sir Charles Burrard, touched at Elba at the end of October.

The Partridge, of 16 guns, captain John Miller Adye, was constantly cruising from Civita-Vecchia to Genoa; but his instructions were, never to remain more than forty-eight hours at Elba.

Sir Neil Campbell told me, that he had no instructions to prevent Napoleon leaving Elba, had he chosen to do so.

Lord Castlereagh said, in the House of Commons, 7th April, 1815, that Napoleon was not considered as a prisoner at Elba, and that if he should leave it, the allies had no right to arrest him.

1815.

At the beginning of January, a lady arrived at Elba, and proceeded to the imperial residence. After a stay of three days, Napoleon conducted her, at night, to the shore; and on some persons approaching with torches, the emperor halloed to them to keep back. None of the Elbese knew who she was, and the few in the palace who had seen her, preserved a mysterious silence; but one who spoke to her there informed me that it was the beautiful Polish countess Valeska, by whom Napoleon had a son a few years before. This lady, who afterwards married general Ornano, is now no more.

Major John H. Vivian told me he arrived at Elba about the 25th of January, in the Partridge. Captain Adye introduced him to general Bertrand, by whom he was received in a very friendly manner. He dined with him once; but this appeared to put them to some inconvenience, as they were living in an indifferent house, with scarcely any furniture. Madame Bertrand, formerly miss Dillon, had a few English books. Major Vivian asked if Napoleon had written any thing since his residence at Elba, and Bertrand assured him that the only time he had taken a pen in hand was to write a letter of mere compliment to the emperor of Austria. On requesting Bertrand to

introduce him to Napoleon, he informed him the etiquette was, to write to the emperor and request an audience. He did so, and eight o'clock that evening was appointed. Bertrand having introduced him, left the room. Vivian remained with the emperor until half-past nine, during which neither of them were seated. Being in regimentals, Napoleon began the conversation by asking him what uniform he wore. "The militia." "What militia?" "Cornish." "Are you the colonel?" "No; major." He then questioned him about the tour of Europe he was making; the places he had visited; state of the roads, bridges, &c. He observed, the English ought to respect the memory of Henry VIII., as he succeeded in overthrowing ecclesiastical power. The interview ended by Napoleon asking him which route he intended to return by. On his saying Mount Cenis, he wished him a pleasant journey and retired. Major Vivian said he made no complaint of poverty, and not a word escaped him of a hope of returning to France. Bertrand, at Vivian's request, introduced him to the princess Pauline, by whom he was received in the most flattering manner. She told him that Napoleon never suffered a word of regret to escape him on their change of fortune — "Mon frère est si philosophe." Madame Bertrand also vaunted the emperor's philosophy; but "*Madame* Mère" complained that they had received no money from

France, though it should have been received according to the treaty. Madame Bertrand said, that the money the emperor brought with him was nearly expended. Major Vivian remained ten days at Elba, in consequence of bad weather: this enabled him to repeat his visits to the princess, but he had no further interview with Napoleon. He quitted Elba about the 4th of February.

Richard Plasket, esq., secretary to general Maitland, arrived at Elba with captain Adye, on the 27th of January. He had a letter of introduction to general Bertrand from sir Neil Campbell, who was then at Florence. He dined three times with Bertrand, who presented his request to the emperor for an audience, which was granted. Mr. Plasket told me that Napoleon questioned him about his travels, and as he was only twenty-eight years of age, expressed much surprise at their great extent, considering his youth. Having resided in the Ionian Islands as treasurer, Napoleon asked him many questions relative to them; what precautions general Maitland took at Malta to prevent the plague spreading, observing, that a strict police was the only means. The emperor was polite and affable during the whole conversation.

During the time Mr. Plasket was at Elba, the emperor's brig the Inconstant, on coming into Porto Ferrajo from a cruise, run aground through the negligence of the captain. Napoleon re-

quested captain Adye to examine her, and give the necessary directions for her repair. In this brig he returned to France.

Madame Bertrand praised the English to Mr. Plasket, but complained that lord Castlereagh had proposed to the congress of Vienna to send the emperor to St. Helena. She also complained that the money which was stipulated to be paid him, by the treaty of Fontainebleau of the 11th of April, had not been sent, and that they were very much straitened.

In consequence of a report, which was very prevalent at Elba, that, in conformity with a determination of the congress at Vienna, the emperor was to be seized and taken to St. Helena, he gave orders to provision Porto Ferrajo for three years. Even sir Neil Campbell said to Napoleon, "The newspapers say you are to be sent to St. Helena." "Nous verrons cela," was the reply.

Sir Neil Campbell informed me, that at the beginning of February, the waiter at the inn where he dined told him a man had arrived in an open boat that morning from the continent, dressed like a sailor; he came to the inn, where, having thrown aside his disguise, he waited on Bertrand at the palace, dressed as a person of distinction, wearing the decoration of the legion of honour, and where he remained for some time; adding, that since his return the gens d'armes had

shewn him great respect. The next day this person went away. Campbell could not discover who he was.

This mysterious visitor was the baron Fleury de Chaboulon, who, at the return of Napoleon, was appointed his private secretary. The object of his visit was a verbal communication from the duc de B——; but not risking the carrying of any letter, he mentioned to the emperor some circumstances only known to B—— and himself. The caution and reserve with which he was received ceased. Napoleon was so agitated at first, that he could not enter into conversation. When the faithful messenger detailed the follies of the Bourbons and the atrocities of their party, he burst into paroxysms of rage against the emigrants, and Marmont for his defection. On becoming calm, he asked the situation of the different corps of the army, particularly the eighth; of which F—— was ignorant. "But why did not B—— inform you?" F—— replied, "Neither of us thought you would instantly determine to set off for France, and we were of opinion that you would know what was passing through your agents." "I have no agents, though the newspapers assert the contrary. I have sent persons to France, but they learned nothing. — Ils ont volé mon argent, et ne m'ont entretenu que des propos de la canaille. — You are the first person who has brought me any information sous

des grand rapports of the position of France and the Bourbons: the others would have allowed me to remain here, à remuer la terre de mon jardin.' Return, and tell B—— I will quit this place, with my guard, before the 1st of April at the latest; tell him I renounce all project of aggrandisement, and will repair, by a stable peace, the ills this war has done us; tell him to communicate with the people and the army; and should the Bourbons be driven out before my arrival, I will have no regency, but a gouvernement provisoire, composed of * * *. Go! we shall shortly meet!" The emperor sent for him again in the evening, and directed him to transmit triplicate letters, one by Genoa, one by Leghorn, and the third by Civita Vecchia, to inform him what corps were in the eighth and tenth military divisions. He also imparted to him the name of an inhabitant of Elba to whom these letters were to be addressed, and desired that they might be written in such a style as to appear, in case of discovery, a mere commercial communication; adding, that he had often tried to outwit persons who wrote under the disguise of merchants, but never succeeded. He then gave him his cipher, charging him, however, only to use it in case of the utmost urgency, and to destroy it on the least suspicion of danger. M. F—— returned by way of Naples and Milan; at Turin he heard that Napoleon had disembarked in France. When

they met, the emperor said to him, that after his departure from Elba he thought he had been imprudent in requiring information to be sent to that island, as, if intercepted, cruisers would be stationed round the island, and this consideration induced him to set off with the least possible delay. At this time there was a very pretty cunning little French actress at Elba. Napoleon pretended to be very angry with her, saying she was a spy of the Bourbons and an agent of the English spy, and ordered her out of the island in twenty-four hours. Captain Adye took her in his vessel to Leghorn: sir Neil Campbell went at the same time; and during this absence, on Sunday, the 26th of February, a signal gun was fired at four o'clock in the afternoon, the drums beat to arms, the officers tumbled what they could of their effects into flour sacks, the men arranged their knapsacks, the embarkation began, and at eight in the evening they were under-weigh. The expedition consisted of the Inconstant brig, of 26 guns, captain Chantard, and five little vessels. The breeze fell at midnight, and a calm ensued, so that at day-break they were between Elba and the Isle of Capraia. At six, A.M., they were hailed by the French brig the Zéphyr, captain Andrieu, who was acquainted with Napoleon's captain; he asked how the emperor did. Napoleon replied through the speaking trumpet, "il

se portait à merveille." In the night of the 27th the wind freshened. On the 1st of March, the expedition entered the Gulf of Juan at three in the afternoon, and at five the emperor disembarked in France.

Sir Neil Campbell quitted Leghorn on Sunday night, and being shortly afterwards becalmed, did not arrive at Elba until Tuesday morning. On landing, he was met by Mr. Grattan, son of the Irish member, who informed him, that on Sunday afternoon, at four o'clock, hearing the drums beat to arms, he went out, and found the gates of Porto Ferrajo shut; that the whole of Monday he saw the expedition to the northward becalmed until sun-set; it was his opinion they were gone to France. Sir Neil found madame Bertrand in very great agitation, who, as well as the princess Pauline, protested ignorance of the emperor's destination. It struck Campbell he was gone to Murat at Naples; to discover this, he instantly told the princess and madame Bertrand that the whole expedition had been taken by the cruisers off Sicily. Pauline's countenance instantly brightened, as this convinced her the colonel knew nothing. Sir Neil did not see Madame Mère, and remained only two hours at Elba, from whence he went to Nice. He was of opinion that general Druot was the only person who knew of Napoleon's project, and that the others were in-

formed of it but a few hours before; and that even Napoleon himself had no such intention a fortnight previous.

THE REGENCY AT BLOIS.

THE last *recorded acts* of the regency before quitting Paris are inserted in the Bulletin des Lois, vol. xix. fourth series, No. 566, and No. 10,253 of the Imperial Acts.

" Décret impérial qui présent des mesures d'exécution pour la levée des conscrits de 1815, dans les départemens occupés, en totalité ou en partie, par l'ennemi."

" *Au Palais des Tuilleries, le* 26 *Mars*, 1814."

By this decree, which consists of twenty-two articles, the young men born between the 1st of January 1795 and the 31st of December of the same year, are to be taken for the army, and the mayors for *this year* are invested with the full powers of prefects and councils of recruitment. If the lists of conscripts or registers of their births, or the rules and instructions how to act, are lost, the mayor is to replace them by oral communication and former experience. But this will give him very little trouble or responsibility, as the eighth article says, that all conscripts hitherto exempted, from not being of the requisite height, from illness or infirmities, or who, from weakness

of constitution, had been declared incapable of supporting the fatigue of war, and also those who, by former laws, had been placed at the end of the roll, should now march. That the decisions of the mayors should be definitive, and that they should be subject to the visits of the conseil de recrutement when circumstances would permit; and that no substitute should be received by the mayors.

" Pour l'empereur,

" En vertu des pouvoirs qu'il nous a confiés.

(Signé) " MARIE LOUISE.

" Par l'Impératrice Régente,

(Signé) " LE DUC DE CADORE,

" *Le Ministre d'Etat, Secrétaire de la Régence.*"

The act which terminates the collection of laws and decrees of the imperial government, and forms part of the laws of France, is of the same date, No. 10,254. It gives a man permission to change his name.

On the 29th of March, as stated in page 48-49, the empress Marie Louise, and her son, the king of Rome, quitted the palace of the Tuilleries, and slept that night at the royal castle of Rambouillet. Near Blois the road had been recently made, and was not then finished.

The carriages were obliged, for the space of half a league, to be dragged through the mud up to their axle-trees. It was, therefore, necessary

to unite the strength of all the horses to a small number of carriages, and, when these were moved onwards, to return for others which had been left behind; and thus the flight of the imperial court was conducted.

The baggage, principally fourgons, began to arrive at Blois in the morning of the 2d of April. The empress reached that town at five in the afternoon. The prefect, M. Christiani, went a league from the town to receive and attend her to the residence of the prefecture. Napoleon's brothers—Joseph, king of Spain; Louis, king of Holland; and Jerome, king of Westphalia, were lodged in the same town. The ministers and court obtained lodgings for themselves, with great difficulty, on account of the smallness of the place; and the accommodations for the whole party were not of the most splendid kind: the greater part of the fugitives here assembled had the precaution to provide themselves with necessaries of every description, but the prince arch-chancellor, Cambaceres, had only a single change of linen. Blois, the chief town of the department of Loire et Cher, is situated on the right bank of the Loire, which is so steep that carriages cannot be used in most of the streets; there are no houses for carriages; those of the fugitive government were therefore left in the open space before the hotel of the prefecture. The number was considerable, as the train of the

empress alone consisted of two hundred horses. The appearance of the carriages thus exposed, and covered with dirt and mud collected on the journey, was curious. The rain performed what the servants, in the present fluctuating state of things, did not think proper to attend to. Even the ponderous state-carriage was treated with equal disrespect and neglect.

The diligences which quitted Paris on the 31st of March, at six in the morning, arrived at Blois at eleven the following morning, two hours later than usual: from the passengers the event of the battle was learnt, and that though the gates of Paris were occupied by the national guards when they passed out of them, yet, in a few hours, they were to be replaced by the allies. Shortly after, a courier arrived at the prefecture; in consequence of this the prefect began to remove, and preparations were made to receive the empress and king of Rome in the hotel of the prefecture, formerly the bishop's palace: the principal inhabitants received orders to prepare their houses for the reception of the kings, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, for the arch-chancellor, and for the ministers and chiefs of the different government offices.

On Sunday the 3d, mass was said at the prefecture by the curé of the parish of St. Louis at Blois, as none of the priests of the imperial chapel at Paris arrived with the court. After mass, the

empress received the different civil officers and the clergy of Blois, but there were no addresses or speeches on either side.

During the first days of her residence, Marie Louise was very desirous of joining her husband, and following him and the army.

Buonaparte wrote to the council of regency from Fontainebleau, announcing his intention to march against Paris with the force he had with him, and his determination not to survive the battle if he should lose it. When this was communicated to the empress, she was so much affected as to be obliged to retire from the council. However, on the next day, to the great astonishment of every one, she appeared perfectly calm. It afterwards transpired, that she had received a private letter from the emperor, of a date subsequent to that addressed to the council, in which the important fact was disclosed that the army refused to march against Paris. In the personal safety of her husband thus assured to her, she lost sight of his glory.

M. D'Hausonville, the chamberlain, told me that there was a constant communication between the emperor and empress, and that she daily sent him from three to four hundred thousand francs in specie: this was done with great secrecy.

Of what was going forward at Paris, every one at Blois, except the imperial family and the ministers, was in a state of absolute ignorance;

as neither letter, newspaper, nor traveller, was permitted to arrive. It was not until the 6th that the newspapers from Paris were communicated generally to the court at Blois; they were then read aloud by M. Molé, the grand judge. It had, however, been suspected, from the growing politeness of the ministers to the rest of the court, that their power had received a severe check.

On the 6th, two Paris mails arrived, that had been detained at Orleans by the prefect of that department (the Loiret), formerly a hosier at Nismes, as contemptible a fellow as any the French revolution had produced. The mails were stopped by order of the duke of Rovigo; but M. Villevêque, a spirited inhabitant of Orleans, had forced the prefect to deliver up the letters and newspapers for that town, which were the first regular communications received from Paris since the 31st of March.

The duke of Rovigo, during the whole time of the residence of the imperial court at Blois, acted with a degree of relentless rigour, which formed a remarkable contrast to his conduct during the three preceding months. He despatched couriers to all the prefects, commanding them to deny all news that should arrive in their departments disadvantageous to the imperial government; to arrest every one who propagated such reports, or who made any stir in favour of the Bourbons, and to bring them immediately before a military

commission, and, if convicted, to have them instantly shot. It was owing to his detaining the English colonel, Cooke, and the French colonel, St. Simon, that the battle of Toulouse took place; lord Cathcart and the gouvernement provisoire despatched these officers to marshals Soult and Suchet, and lord Wellington, with advice of what had taken place at Paris, and the *déchéance* of Napoleon. They arrived at Orleans in the morning, and were at breakfast at the inn, having been joined by Mr. Thompson, formerly member of parliament for Evesham, and then a détenu in Orleans. A gen-d'arme entered the room with a message from general Chassereau, commandant of the military division of France in which this town is situated, desiring to see them. Colónel St. Simon said, that himself and colonel Cooke were respectively bearers of despatches to marshal Soult and lord Wellington, announcing the *déchéance* of Napoleon; and not having any despatches for the general, they would wait upon him and give him the newspapers as soon as they had breakfasted. The gen-d'arme returned in a few minutes with a mission, demanding their immediate presence: they went, and returned under an escort, in about twenty minutes, to finish their breakfast; after which they proceeded in their carriage, accompanied by an aide-de-camp of general Chassereau's, and

guarded by a dragoon, to Blois, where they were detained so long under arrest that they could not arrive at Toulouse until after the battle had taken place.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the following proclamation was seen stuck up about the streets of Blois: —

" Français!

" Les événemens de la guerre ont mis la capitale au pouvoir de l'étranger.

" L'empereur, accouru pour la défendre, est à la tête de ses armées si souvent victorieuses.

" Elles sont en présence de l'ennemi, sous les murs de Paris.

" C'est de la résidence que j'ai choisie, et des ministres de l'empereur, qu'émaneront les seuls ordres que vous puissiez reconnoître.

" Toute ville au pouvoir de l'ennemi cesse d'être libre; toute direction qui en émane est le langage de l'étranger, ou celui qu'il convient à ses vues hostiles de propager.

" Vous serez fidèles à vos sermens, vous écouterez la voix d'une princesse qui fût remise à votre foi, qui fait toute sa gloire d'être Française, d'être associée aux destinées du souverain que vous avez librement choisi.

" Mon fils étoit moins sûr de vos cœurs au tems de nos prospérités.

" Sés droïts et sa personne sont sous votre sauve-garde.

" MARIE LOUISE,
" Par l'Impératrice Régente.
" Le Ministre de l'Intérieur faisant fonctions
" de Secrétaire de la Régence.
" MONTALIVET.

" *Blois*, 3 *Avril*, 1814."

Notwithstanding its date of the 3d, this proclamation never was heard of until the 7th; nor could it have been known much earlier, as it was only drawn up at the council of the 6th.

It was sent to the constituted authorities in every department where the council of regency had the power or the means left them to get it admitted. It arrived at the prefecture at Nismes, in the department of the Gard, on the 10th; the prefect ordered it to be stuck up. No further news arrived at Nismes until the 15th, when a merchant of Lyons sent, by way of the Rhone, an extract from the *Moniteur* of the 7th; which produced a great sensation. The same day a man arrived at Nismes from Avignon, having a white cockade, which he hung to the balcony of the inn. This was received with great joy by the people, by whom it was taken as a symbol of peace, as the Bourbons were never even dreamt of by them; they ran about the streets, shouting

" Peace! peace! peace!" * On the 17th, early in the morning, the regular post arrived, being the first which had been received since the 6th of April, which had quitted Paris on the 30th of March, and contained news up to half-past twelve o'clock at noon of that day. But by the post of the 17th they obtained the newspapers of the 10th.

Good Friday, April 8th. — Between eight and nine in the morning, Joseph and Jerôme Buonaparte, having ordered two carriages to the gate of the prefecture, entered the empress's apartment, and addressed her in these terms: " Madame, il faut que vous veniez avec nous." Upon

* Few thought that fifteen months afterwards this would be the signal for massacre and pillage; that under it a thousand of the most respectable and wealthy Protestants would be murdered; that forty of their wives and daughters would be stripped in the public market-place, and there whipped with battledores stuck with nails, nine of whom died in consequence; that one hundred and fifty of their houses would be pillaged and demolished in the town, and ninety in its neighbourhood, all belonging to Protestants. Nor could it be believed that Jaques Dupont, alias Tres-taillons, the chief assassin, would, from an agricultural labourer, become the owner of a house on the boulevards of Nismes, and be allowed to walk about the town, as I saw him in 1825, or to die in his bed, which he did in 1827, and be borne to his grave in a grand procession, composed of priests and all the different religious fraternities, with their banners, crosses, &c.

this, the empress inquired where and why; for, added she, " Je suis très bien ici." Jerôme replied, " C'est ce que nous ne pouvons pas vous dire." The empress then asked if it was by order of the emperor that they acted; and on their answering in the negative, she said, " Dans ce cas, je n'irai pas." " Nous vous forcerons," replied Jerôme. She then burst into tears, which, however, did not prevent their seizing her person, and dragging her roughly towards the door. She cried out, and M. d'Hausonville, the chamberlain, general Cafferelli, M. de Bausset, préfet du palais, and some officers of the household, came to her assistance. Cafferelli sternly desired the brothers to desist from offering violence to the empress. One of them asked him: " Do you know to whom you are speaking?" " Yes!" contemptuously replied the general. The empress requested it might be ascertained whether the officers of the guard would countenance violence to her person. Monsieur d'Hausonville flew to the court-yard with such precipitation that he fell down stairs, and, addressing himself to the officers, asked if it was their intention to obey the brothers or the empress regent? They said they would obey the regent; and on his proposal, they swore to this declaration. M. d'Hausonville then returned to the empress, announcing that " the troops were at the orders of her majesty." The royal brothers

then retired. It was their intention to carry her to Romorantin or Bourges, and from thence into Auvergne or the Limousin, there to keep her as a hostage. From the moment of this outrage she expressed no further desire of joining her husband.

Napoleon's opinion of his brother Jerôme, whom he had placed on the throne of Westphalia, may be inferred from the following private conversation between them.

After the battle of Leipsig, Jerome, accompanied by all his court, fled from his newly made kingdom to Paris. At the latter end of December, 1813, the emperor sent for him into his closet, and thus addressed him: —

Napoleon.—" Je vous ai envoyé chercher afin de vous parler à cœur ouvert. Avez-vous acheté une terre comme je vous l'ai dit?"

Jerôme.—" Oui, près de Montrichard."

Napoleon.—" Allez demeurer là."

Jerôme.—" C'est un exil."

Napoleon.—" Vous pouvez l'appeller ce qui vous fait plaisir, mais je ne veux pas que vous soyez près de moi; vous m'êtes odieux; votre conduite me déplait; je ne connois personne aussi vil, aussi plat, aussi poltron; vous êtes sans vertu, sans talens, sans moyens. Je vous déteste autant que je déteste Lucien. Vous êtes entouré de vos Allemands."

Jerôme.—" Mais ils m'ont suivi."

Napoleon.—" Ils ont raison peut-être, et vous aussi; mais cela ne me déplait pas moins. Je ne veux pas avoir près de moi ceux qui m'ont vu dans ma prospérité. J'ai une faiblesse pour Joseph—que j'ai toujours eu depuis mon enfance. Va-t'en!"

On leaving the emperor, Jerôme immediately sent for his private secretary, M. Bruguière, to whom, for reasons best known to himself, he dictated this singular conversation, and kept the record.

After he had quitted France, he wrote to M. Bruguière, "Je ne puis vous délier de vos sermens de fidélité, car ce seroit une renonciation formelle de mon royaume de Westphalie, et au droit éventuel à la couronne de France."

A few years after, Jerôme's throne was purchased by the keepers of the Café des Mille Colonnes, in the Palais Royal, and the celebrated belle limonadière was nightly seen seated on it, exhibiting her charms, as in the early part of her life she had done at the corners of the streets of Paris.

It was to Jerôme that Napoleon said: "If the majesty of kings is imprinted on their countenance, you may safely travel incognito."

The same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, count Schuwaloff, without escort, arrived at Blois, and went to the inn La Galère.

From this period the government of the re-

gency may be said to have been dissolved; for the count came to escort the empress from Blois.

Before the ministers and other members of this body dispersed, they had the precaution to require of the minister of the treasury a distribution of the forty-five millions of francs in specie which had been brought from Paris, after payment of what they considered their own arrears. They issued three months' pay to the troops.* Joseph and Jerôme modestly took a million each, as their own shares, and six hundred thousand francs were assigned to the absent empress Josephine, but she never received them. The two brothers wished a complete division of the booty, and especially of the diamonds of the crown; but the baron de la Bouillerie, trésorier de la couronne, resolutely refused to deliver them up.

Louis Buonaparte, who, since his abdication of the crown of Holland, in July 1810, took the name of M. de St. Leu, from his estate in the valley of Montmorency, near Paris, did not participate in this disgraceful scene. Indeed, during the whole time of the residence at Blois, he

* Of which they were in great want, as general Letort, of the dragoons of the imperial guards, told me he had not received any pay, except two hundred and fifteen francs, since August 1813; and that several of his officers were obliged to sell their horses to pay for their dinners.

always appeared with that tranquillity which his good conscience secured to him. He was seen at mass in the church of St. Louis, at Blois, on Sundays and on the holidays.

When the spoil was divided, the next step taken by the ministers was to secure the safety of their own persons, by returning to Paris to offer their adherence to the new government.

They and the imperial court accordingly applied to M. Bruère, mayor of Blois, for passports, which were granted, to the number of four hundred. These being signed by count Schuwaloff, enabled them to pass with safety through that part of the allied army which was between Blois and Paris. When the duke of Rovigo placed his passport before Schuwaloff, he coolly put his pen through the title, and inserted the name of Savary in the margin. Besides the ministers, there were at Blois, the president and vice-president of the senate; the chancellor of the senate, count de la Place, the celebrated mathematician, with the seals; (these were carried from Paris in the vain hope that no act of the senate would be availing, unless they were affixed to it;) the president of the corps législatif; the president of the court of cassation; and several ladies of the court, among whom were the wives of marshals Ney and Augereau.

It was intended that the empress should leave Blois the next day; but when M. d'Hausonville waited upon her to receive orders respecting the

carriages, she said " that the horses could not be put to, as, *of all the servants, one only would now obey her.*" The others, on hearing the news from Paris, had abandoned her. However, by means of the authority of Schuwaloff, the empress, the king of Rome, and the court attendants, with the French troops that came with them, set out on Saturday, the 9th, between ten and eleven o'clock, for Orleans, where they arrived at six in the evening; the empress in the same brown riding-habit in which she quitted Paris, and which she had worn the whole time.

Mass was said on Easter Sunday before the empress Marie Louise, at the bishop's palace, and before Madame Mère at her lodgings; but the prayer for the emperor was omitted.

Although Madame Mère's share of the plunder was three hundred and seventy-five thousand francs, yet the abbé Mirault obtained a piece of twenty francs, in the collection for the poor, with difficulty from her.

Joseph and Jerôme arrived at Orleans with Marie Louise. Jerôme staid there four days, and then went to the château de la Motte Beuvron. Louis went from Blois to Lausanne, where he arrived on the 15th of April. Joseph remained at Orleans until the 18th of April. Madame Mère quitted Orleans for Rome with cardinal Fesch.

On Tuesday the 12th, prince Esterhazy ar-

rived at Orleans from the emperor of Austria, and the empress set off with him the same day for the château of Rambouillet, having six carriages for herself, her son, and their attendants, but no military escort. Here, on the 19th, she received a visit from the emperor of Russia; and during the few days of her residence at Orleans, before her return to Austria, she sent several small tokens of remembrance to different persons at Paris. To Gerard, the painter, she presented her mahogany easel; to Isabey, the celebrated miniature-painter, who was her drawing-master, she gave a little memorandum-book which she carried in her pocket, drawing a pencil through her notes, and then wrote, with ink, in the first page, " Donné à Isabey, le 20 d'Avril, 1814, par un de ses élèves, qui aura toujours de la reconnoissance pour les peines il s'est donné pour elle.

" LOUISE."

This, my friend Isabey shewed me a few days afterwards. I have seen very pretty compositions of figures by her, that were far better than young ladies' drawings generally are.

Unprejudiced persons who approached her, agreed that she was good-natured and kind, but bashful and very timid, never interfering with her husband on any subject. She certainly never was cited in the *salons* of Paris, either for word or deed, except her attachment to the

young duchess of Montebello, widow of marshal Lasnes. Napoleon always conducted himself towards her with the most marked politeness; very different from his free manner with the empress Josephine. She was very fond of the emperor: and in speaking of him she always termed him *mon ange*. It was very generally reported that she had an aversion for her son; I certainly never could learn she evinced any affection for him; and Napoleon, who was a most fond and indulgent father, would sometimes joke with her on this subject in company.

During her pregnancy, it was insinuated by a certain party, that in case of the birth of a female child, it would be changed; and from the day of the birth of young Napoleon until the overthrow of the emperor, reports were very currently circulated that he was not the son of Marie Louise; and some surmised that even her pregnancy was feigned. The real circumstances were, that on her being taken in labour, the great officers of state and persons belonging to the court were assembled, and after waiting nearly all night, Napoleon said to them, that Dubois, the accoucheur, asserted that the labour-pains had gone off, and it might be some hours before the delivery would take place; and, as the ladies (who were teasing the accoucheur with their affected importunities and impertinent advice) must be fatigued, they had better all retire, and they

should be sent for as soon as any symptoms of approaching delivery occurred. All withdrew, excepting the duchess of Montebello, who remained during the whole time of the delivery. Napoleon was sitting by the bed-side, holding his wife's hands. Dubois, being apprehensive it would be a difficult and dangerous birth, begged him to retire, saying he should prefer his being absent; but the emperor said he would remain to encourage him. Shortly after, the pains suddenly returned, the child presented the right hip, and after it was turned, forceps were obliged to be used. The infant was black when born, and for five minutes gave no signs of life. The emperor, during that time, was in the greatest agony, and pale as ashes. The event was made known to the capital, and to those who had retired, by the firing of one hundred cannon from the terrace of the Invalids. It had previously been announced, that should the empress be delivered of a girl, only twenty-one guns would be fired; but if of a boy, one hundred.

I witnessed the anxiety of the people as soon as the cannon began, and the joyous shout with which the twenty-second report was hailed. I never saw more joy on the faces of the common people; and there were few others on the boulevards at the hour it took place.

But what establishes the whole circumstance beyond doubt, is the evidence of the empress's

nurse, madame Blaise, who had the greatest reputation for skill as a midwife. She said to madame ———, a Bourbonist, whom she was attending in May 1814, and who told it to me, "That though it was her interest to confirm the report of the king of Rome not being the child of Marie Louise, yet she would tell the truth; which was, that she was present when M. Dubois delivered the empress; and that, in his agitation, he had mislaid the scissors intended to cut the umbilical cord, when she held the child while he sought for them." There can be no doubt of the nature of this evidence, from the way in which women in France are delivered. Dubois, having represented to Napoleon at the beginning that the labour would be a difficult one, was ordered by him to treat the empress exactly as he would a bourgeoise of the Rue St. Denis. Dubois then said, that from the nature of the case, it might be necessary to sacrifice the life of one; "Save the mother—it is her right!" was instantly the reply.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

BY THE EDITOR.

THOSE who have but even cursorily watched the progress of political events for the last forty years, must be fully aware of the unparalleled importance of that period, when compared with any other of the same extent, in the annals of the world. Not only France, but all the civilised countries of the globe, have been either partakers of, or participators in, the moral and political revolutions which have recently occurred. The human mind, which had been for ages trammelled by the most galling shackles of bigotry and superstition, having, by these convulsions, burst its confines, wandered and wantoned in the boundless expanse of liberty; and although evincing its godlike origin and attributes, it likewise displayed manifold follies and extravagancies. That these led to crimes, and consequent miseries, is a natural result, but good has preponderated, and is likely to increase; for human amelioration and improvement have sprung out of the conflict, and nothing

less than another great revolution can counteract their influence and effects. Genius and talent of every kind, and of all degrees, have been called into full action, and have triumphed in their conflicts with purse-proud ignorance, bigotry, and tyranny.

Extraordinary times produce extraordinary personages;—the wars of states, and the warfare of political and moral opposition, call into action, and advance to eminence, the master spirits of a country. It is these, like the planets in the starry firmament, that attract the chief, and almost the exclusive, attention of observers. They stand out from the multitude; and every form, feature, and attribute, are marked and scrutinised. They become land-marks in the ocean of history, and are to be respected or shunned in proportion as they make either good or bad use of their talents. It is the duty of the historian and biographer to investigate fastidiously and impartially the characteristics of every person who claims a niche in the Temple of Fame, before he assigns to him his appropriate and permanent station. Were this to be more generally the case,—were writers more circumspect and jealous of their own responsibility, there would be fewer books, less controversy, and more truth disseminated. Respecting the extraordinary man whose personal character and influence have

produced such prodigious effects on the political and moral world, we seek with avidity for every fact and every incident that may tend to develop his individuality of mind and governing principles. It is from accumulated evidence,—from numerous incidents, in public and private life, both on the great theatre of action and enterprise, and within the recesses of domestic intercourse, that a faithful portraiture can be drawn of a man like Buonaparte, who not only domineered over a large empire, but subdued and controlled other states, —who created and dethroned kings,—and who called around him, and put into action, all the talents of the country. A vaunted terrestrial demigod, who caused more human slaughter than any other man on earth, we are anxious to trace his history in all the intricacies and varieties of life. The preceding narrative furnishes many remarkable anecdotes of this boasted "invincible emperor," and of the people whom he governed and played with as puppets.

Although the pens of many eloquent writers, whose situations and talents seemed eminently qualified to treat the subject fairly and fully, have appropriated much time and many volumes to discuss his merits and demerits — to write histories of the man and of his times, it is generally admitted that they have been too much influenced by personal and political partialities, to do themselves and

their hero justice. Napoleon Buonaparte has been panegyrised as a monarch, a general, and a hero; has been stigmatised as a ruffian, a tyrant, and a coward. That the actions recorded of him may justify each and all of these epithets, at different times and under different circumstances, is readily admitted: but it is not insulated acts and particular traits that constitute character; it is the general, prevailing, and predominating passion that designates the man, that detaches him from his fellows, and, like his personal features, contradistinguishes him from all approximations of similitude. The philosophical biographer should earnestly and fearlessly endeavour to attain a perfect knowledge of this; and having discovered it, should describe it with all the minuteness, all the force, and all the verity of nature. We still want such a portrait of Buonaparte: for his personal character, and the national events emanating from them, are objects not of French history merely, but constitute a great feature in that of the civilised world. With mental powers adequate to such a task, the public expected to see it accomplished by sir Walter Scott; but his early prepossessions, his political connexions, his habits of writing from fancy instead of fact, were obstacles not to be surmounted. The character of sir Walter's work is finely discriminated by the Rev. Dr. Channing, of America, who has

also entered into an analytical view of Buonaparte's mental and moral attributes, with great power of language, and great philosophical acuteness. In this essay, however, we see the sentiments of the American and the priest creeping into and deteriorating the principles of the profound critic and the historian. Mr. Hazlitt, an acute, philosophical thinker, has commenced the arduous task of giving a faithful, discriminating portrait of Buonaparte, by publishing two out of four volumes of a work devoted to the subject. To qualify himself for this task, he has resided for some time in Paris, and has thereby had opportunities of collecting facts and opinions which qualify him to impart to the English reader much original, as well as novel information.

"The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte," in 4 vols. 8vo, 1828, by W. H. Ireland, contains a mass of historical and biographical information, with numerous embellishments. Another work, by the same author, entitled, "The Hundred Days of Napoleon Buonaparte," embraces many other facts and details respecting the same individual.

"The proper study of mankind is man," and this can only be properly and effectively pursued by reading the book of the world — by watching and analysing man as he really is, not as he seems, nor as he is portrayed by the novelist, the historian, or the poet. Of the powers of the latter, we cannot easily adduce a stronger

instance than in the following lines from one of the most imaginative and eloquent bards of the present age: —

ON THE CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTE.

" Then Napoleon came
With his embattled hosts. That wondrous man!
Whose daring spirit, with volcanic rage,
Breathed flame and ruin on the affrighted world.
His eye could span the Universe! His soul
Had fire enough to vanquish all! In vain
Wild Nature barr'd his progress with her piles
Tiared by the clouds; — in vain the rocks
Uprear'd their ice-hair'd heads to block his path,
Or hurl'd their torrents at him! With a glance,
Fierce as the eagle's, when his piercing eye
Gleams through the darkening air, he look'd beyond
Them all! Nature and he were giants twin,
And her impediments but forced the flames
Of genius from his soul; as thunder-clouds,
Together clash'd, dart forth their lightning gleams."

R. MONTGOMERY'S *Poems.*

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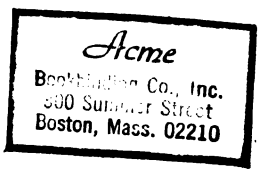
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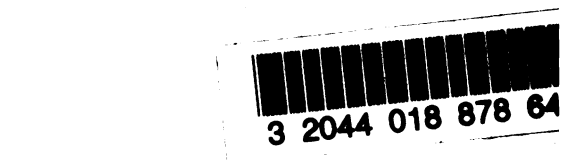

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